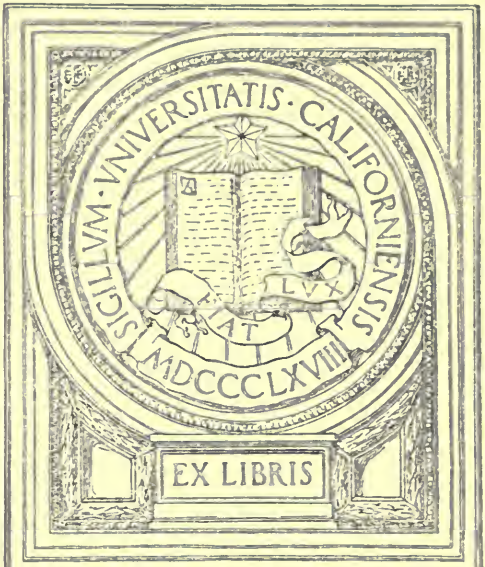
THE WELLESLEY PAPERS

BY THE EDITOR OF
"THE WINDHAM PAPERS"

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES



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THE WELLESLEY PAPERS

WE MUST ENDEAVOUR TO DISCHARGE
OUR DUTY TOWARDS OUR COUNTRY
WITH FORTITUDE AND PERSEVERANCE

Wellesley to Wilberforce, January 24th, 1806

UNIFORM WITH THIS VOLUME

THE WINDHAM PAPERS

Being the Life and Correspondence of the Rt. Hon. William Windham (1750-1810), a Member of Pitt's first cabinet, and the ministry of "All the Talents," including hitherto unpublished Letters from George III., the Dukes of York and Gloucester, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Canning, Lords Minto, Castlereagh, Grenville, Nelson, and Malone, Dr. Johnson, Cobbett, Dr. Burney, with an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., Two Portraits in Photogravure and 32 other Illustrations.

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The Marquess Wellesley

From a miniature by Andrew Robertson, in Apsley House
by permission of His Grace the Duke of Wellington, K.G.

THE WELLESLEY PAPERS

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF RICHARD COLLEY WELLESLEY MARQUESS WELLESLEY 1760-1842 GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA 1797-1805 SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS 1809-1812 AND LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND 1821-1827 1833-1834 INCLUDING HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE WITH GEORGE III AND GEORGE IV THE DUKES OF YORK AND CUMBERLAND THE DUKES OF PORTLAND AND WELLINGTON LORDS ABERDEEN AUCKLAND BATHURST BROUGHAM CASTLEREAGH GREY HOLLAND LIVERPOOL MELBOURNE AND PALMERSTON LADY HESTER STANHOPE AND LADY BLESSINGTON BURDETT CANNING CREEVEY CROKER PEEL SPENCER PERCEVAL PITT WILBERFORCE ETC ETC

BY THE EDITOR OF

"THE WINDHAM PAPERS"

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

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TO

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON,

K.G., G.C.V.O.

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PREFACE

TO write a detailed account of the public career of the Marquess Wellesley, "the great Marquess," as he was called in India, would be to give the history of India from 1797 until 1805, and the history of England from that date until 1835, when he retired from political life. Such a task I do not propose to undertake, if for no other reason than that it would be supererogatory. "The Marquess Wellesley's Indian administration is justly regarded as the most splendid period of his history," Pearce has written, "though perhaps its lustre has, in some degree, tended to cast into the shade other portions of his public services of great utility."[1] The Indian career of the Marquess is told fully in the *Despatches* edited by Montgomery Martin, and in the biographies written by Torrens, Hutton, and Malleson. While I print numerous letters written by and to Wellesley during the years he was Governor-General of India, I devote greater space to his later years, when he was consulted again and again on the political situation, and was in active correspondence with the most eminent statesmen of the day. From the vast mass of unpublished correspondence, I have selected, first, those letters that throw light on his character and actions, and,

[1] *Memoirs of Wellesley*, i. 10.

second, those that supplement our knowledge of affairs during the period of history that comes within his lifetime.

We shall see Wellesley, at the age of thirty-seven, going out to India as Governor-General; a comparatively untried man, indeed, but one of high promise. We shall see something of the admirable work he did there. We shall see him return eight years later, embittered by the attacks made upon his policy. We shall see him, proud, stern, autocratic, convinced that his abilities were not fully appreciated, trying to force a quarrel on Canning on the supposition that that statesman opposed his pretensions to the office of Prime Minister; and at another time at cross-purposes with Melbourne. Having been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1809 until 1812, and in the latter year having endeavoured in vain to form a government, we shall see him expecting great posts in various administrations, yet never again holding any office higher than that of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and actually accepting in 1830 and in 1835 posts in the Household rather than forego power altogether. A perusal of the correspondence will suggest that the reason for his exclusion was his open contempt for his colleagues and his dictatorial manner. When he was at the Foreign Office he did not deign to consult the Cabinet. Perhaps only with Brougham, many of whose letters are included

in these volumes, was it more difficult to work. It is agreeable to be able to record that in the evening of the life of Wellesley the great work he had done in India was fully recognised, and substantial tribute paid to him.

The hitherto unpublished Wellesley correspondence is printed here by kind permission of the present head of the family, His Grace the Duke of Wellington, K.G., G.C.V.O., to whom I tender my very sincere thanks. The Controller of His Majesty's Stationery Office has courteously allowed me to insert certain extracts from the Fortescue MSS. For assistance of various kinds rendered me during the preparation of this work I am indebted to the Rev. Edmond Warre, C.V.O., C.B., D.D., Provost of Eton; F. Warre Cornish, Esq., M.A., Vice-Provost of Eton; the Rev. Lionel Ford, M.A., Headmaster of Harrow; William Foster, Esq., the Registrar and Superintendent of Records in the India Office; the Rev. Henry W. Clark, D.D.; J. R. W. Robinson, Esq.; J. E. W. Flood, Esq.; and especially Arnold Winterbotham, Esq., who has kindly read the proofs of this work. To the publisher, Herbert Jenkins, Esq., I must express my gratitude, for he has unreservedly placed his experience and time at my disposal, and has given me much sage counsel.

THE EDITOR.

LONDON,
New Year's Day, 1914.

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CHRONOLOGY

1760

June 20. Richard Colley Wellesley born.
After his father was created Earl of Mornington, known by the courtesy title of Viscount Wellesley.

1770

At Harrow.

1772

At Eton.

1778

December. Matriculated as a nobleman at Christ Church, Oxford.

1780

Won the Chancellor's Prize for Latin Verse.

1781

May 22. Left the University on succeeding as (second) Earl of Mornington.
Took his seat in the Irish House of Lords.

1783

February 5. Created an original Knight of the Order of St. Patrick.

1784

Member of Parliament for Beer-Alston, Devonshire.

1785

Created an Irish Privy Councillor.

1786

Appointed by Pitt a Lord of the Treasury.

1787

January. Elected for Saltash, but unseated on petition.

1788

Returned for Windsor.

1793

June 21. Created an English Privy Councillor.
June 28. Appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Control.

1794

November 29. Married Mdlle. Hyacinthe Gabrielle Roland.

1797

February. Appointed Governor of Madras.
May. Appointed Governor-General of India.
November 3. Created Baron Wellesley of Wellesley, Somerset, in the English peerage.

1799

December 2. Created Marquess Wellesley in the Irish peerage.

1805

August 5. Sailed from India.

1806

January. Landed in England.

1807

March 24. Offered by Portland the Foreign Office.

1808

March 8. Charges brought originally by James Paull against Wellesley's policy in connection with Oudh finally disposed of.

1809

July-December. Ambassador-Extraordinary to Spain.
December. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

1810

March. Invested Knight of the Garter.

1812

February 19. Resigned the Foreign Office and declined the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.
June. Endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to form a ministry.
Published *Correspondence and Documents explaining the Proceedings in the recent Negotiations for the formation of an Administration.*

1816

Death of the (first) Marchioness Wellesley.

1821

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

1825

October 29. Married, second, Mary Anne, the widow of Robert Patterson.

1827

December. Resigned the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.

1830-1833

Nov. 1830-*Sep.* 1833. Lord Steward of the Household.

1833-1834

Sep. 1833-*Dec.* 1834. Again Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

1835

April-May. Lord Chamberlain.

1836-1837

Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G., during his Administration in India. Edited by Montgomery Martin. 5 vols.

1837

November 27. Granted £20,000 by the East India Company.

1838

Despatches and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G., during his Mission to Spain, 1809. Edited by Montgomery Martin.

1840

Published, for private circulation, *Primitiæ et Reliquiæ.*

1841

March. The East India Company resolve to place in the India House a marble statue of Wellesley.

1842

September 26. Died.

BOOK I

EARLY YEARS. 1760-1797

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THE Wellesleys (or Wesleys, as the name was frequently written) of the eighteenth century trace their descent directly from that Richard Colley, or Cowley, who was sent to Ireland in the reign of Henry VII. to watch the conduct of Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, Lord-

Deputy of that country. The Colleys settled in Ireland and acquired property. They lived the life of country gentlemen, the succeeding heads of the family usually holding some useful but not highly distinguished office. The connection with that branch of the Wellesleys of Wellesley, in Somersetshire, which from the thirteenth century had resided in Ireland, was brought about by the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of that Dudley Colley of Castle Carbery who died in 1674, with Garret Wellesley of Dungan, Co. Meath. The eldest son of this alliance, William, died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Garret, who, likewise having no heirs, when he died in 1728 left his property to his cousin, Richard Colley, who thereupon assumed the surname and arms of Wellesley.

This Richard Colley Wellesley sat in the Irish Parliament as member for Trim until 1746, when he was raised to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Mornington. His son, Garret, who succeeded him in 1758, was, two years later, advanced to the dignities of Viscount Wellesley of Dungan Castle, and Earl of Mornington, Co. Meath. The Earl married, in 1759, Anne, eldest daughter of Arthur Hill-Trevor, first Viscount Dungannon, and by her had issue :

Richard Colley Wellesley, born June 20, 1760,[1]

[1] Most writers are in doubt as to whether Wellesley was born at Dungan Castle, or at the family residence in Grafton Street, Dublin. The question is apparently answered by

afterwards Marquess Wellesley, the subject of this book;

William, born May 20, 1763, who in 1778 assumed the name of Pole on becoming heir to the estates of his cousin, William Pole of Ballyfin, Queen's County;

Arthur, born April 29, 1769, afterwards Duke of Wellington;

Gerald Valerian, born December 7, 1770, who entered the Church, and became Prebendary of Durham;

Henry, born January 20, 1773, afterwards Baron Cowley;

Anne, born 1768, who married, first, in 1790, the Hon. Henry Fitzroy (died 1794), and, second, Charles Culling Smith, of Hampton, dying on December 16, 1844.

After his father's elevation to an earldom, Richard Colley Wellesley was known by the courtesy title of Viscount Wellesley. At an early age he was sent to a private school at Trim, and eventually to Harrow when ten years old. His stay there was brief. "Dr. Sumner's[1] successor as Headmaster of Harrow began his reign

Wellesley himself, who, replying to an address of the Corporation of Dublin on the occasion of his appointment in 1821 as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, referred to the time "when I had the honour of being enrolled in the distinguished list of the freemen of my native city."

[1] The Rev. Robert Carey Sumner, D.D. (1729-1771), the friend of Dr. Johnson, and the author of *Concio ad Clerum* (1768). He died September 12, 1771.

in storm," Messrs. Howson and Warner state. "Local feeling espoused the candidature of Parr[1] for the headmastership, and exploded in a riot when Heath[2]—a third Etonian headmaster in succession—was selected. In that riot, as, a century later, the Earl of Verulam related at the Tercentenary Festival, the carriage of one of his ancestors, Mr. Bucknall, a governor of the school, was wrecked by Parr's too zealous partisans. The *émeute* lost to Harrow one who would have been among her brightest ornaments. A young Harrovian, eleven years and a half old, who had shared in the sacrilegious act, arrived at the house of his guardian, Archbishop Cornwallis,[3] waving one of the tassels of Mr. Bucknall's carriage, and shouting 'Victory.' . . . He was a Harrovian, at any rate for eighteen months."[4] After this trouble, young Wellesley was transferred without delay to Eton, where, during the six years he remained there, he devoted himself, with more than the average school-boy's interest, to the study of the classics, and contributed Greek and Latin

[1] The Rev. Samuel Parr (1747-1825), the well-known controversialist, was first assistant at Harrow under Sumner, and was so angered at not being appointed to the headmastership that he started a rival school at Stanmore.

[2] The Rev. Benjamin Heath, D.D., was Headmaster of Harrow from 1771 until 1785.

[3] Frederick Cornwallis (1713-1783), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1768.

[4] *Harrow School*, p. 162.

verses to the *Musæ Etonenses*.[1] In December 1778 he matriculated as a nobleman at Christ Church, Oxford. His tutor was William Jackson,[2] who persuaded him to compete in 1780 for the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse, the subject for the year being Captain Cook, and was made happy by his pupil's victory. Wellesley had indeed a gift for the study of the classical languages, and in later years, when his active career was over, he found pleasure in collecting the scattered verses of earlier days. He did not remain at Oxford to take his degree, coming down when his father died on May 22, 1781, and he succeeded as second Earl of Mornington.

The new Earl at once returned to Ireland, and when, a year later, he attained his majority, he showed that he was prepared to regard seriously his duties as head of his family. He at once announced that he would take upon himself the considerable debts of his father, and he charged himself with the education of his brothers and sister. He made strenuous endeavours to put

[1] Mr. Francis Warre Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton, has kindly supplied the Editor with the following extracts from the School Lists:

Lord Wellesley. 1772: Lower School (second division). 1774: Fourth Form (first division). Christmas 1775: Fifth Form. July 1778: Sixth Form.

[2] William Jackson (1751-1815) had himself in 1770 gained the Chancellor's prize for Latin verse. In 1783 he was elected Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford. He was preferred to a canonry at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1799, and was consecrated Bishop of Oxford in 1812.

his estates upon a more profitable basis, though, for a while, he left their management to his mother. He assiduously attended the sittings of the Irish House of Lords, where he distinguished himself by the vigour with which he championed the cause of Roman Catholic emancipation, and by denouncing with spirit the extravagances of the Irish Establishment. When, in 1783, George III. instituted the Order of St. Patrick,[1] Mornington was one of the twelve original knights ; and two years later he was sworn a member of the Privy Council for Ireland.

The keenness of Mornington's interest in public affairs from an early age may be deduced from the following letter, written to Grattan, with whom he was on intimate terms, during a visit to England when he was in his twenty-third year.

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* HENRY GRATTAN

Albemarle Street, London: December 9, 1782

I seize the first opportunity of offering my sincere congratulations to you upon the recovery of Miss Fitzgerald,[2] which I heard of last night from O'Beirne. I have felt very anxiously both for your situation and hers, and believe me, nobody rejoices more thoroughly in the prospect of happiness which the return of her health has opened to you both.

[1] The Marquess Wellesley resigned the dignity of a Knight of St. Patrick in 1810, on his investment as a Knight of the Garter.

[2] Henrietta Fitzgerald, afterwards the first wife of Henry Grattan.

I sent a hasty account of the first day's business in the House of Commons to Ogle[1]: the debate was very uninteresting, and did not deserve to be particularised. Since that day nothing has passed of any consequence. The reports of a peace gain ground every hour: this morning it was believed to have been signed, and that Gibraltar was ceded for Porto Rico and Minorca. The cession of Gibraltar will be an unpopular measure; it was but hinted on the first day, and the very suggestion threw the House into a ferment. The language generally held is that our successes in the last campaign[2] entitle us to an honourable peace; and that if France should be unreasonable in her demands, the war must be prosecuted with vigour. The situation of the Ministry[3] seems to be very singular; the number of their *devoted* friends is certainly inferior to that of their declared enemies; but their enemies are divided. Lord North's party is certainly the strongest in the House, but Lord North is equally averse to Shelburne and to Fox. Lord North's language is, that he will support Government as far as may be necessary for the strengthening of the nation's

[1] George Ogle (1742-1814), Irish politician, a keen supporter of the legislative independence of Ireland.

[2] On April 12 Rodney defeated Grasse in the "Battle of the Saints." In September the great attack on Gibraltar had been gloriously repulsed by Eliott, and a month later Howe skilfully relieved the garrison.

[3] The Shelburne Administration, formed on the death of Rockingham in July 1782, in which Pitt was Chancellor of the Exchequer. It fell in April, and was succeeded in the following April by the short-lived Coalition Ministry led by North and Fox.

hands against foreign enemies, but that he will suffer no alterations in the Constitution. You can easily conceive what a scene of confusion the contest between these three parties must afford: Fox, Lord North, and Pitt equally and by turns opposed to each other. As yet there has been no division in Parliament, so that I cannot with any accuracy state the numbers in these parties.

Not one word has been said in debate upon Irish affairs; the subject is touched, as you will see, very cautiously both in the Speech and Addresses. I have seen both the Duke of Portland[1] and Fitzpatrick,[2] and have from both received the most firm assurances of their intention, and that of Mr. Fox, to stand by the settlement of the last session.[3]

In the Irish Parliament Mornington showed himself an able speaker and a fearless antagonist. In October 1783 he made a vigorous onslaught on "the profusion practised by the administration in several instances." He protested against the grants which, in his opinion, went into the pockets of the great cotton manufacturers rather than in benefit of trade. He condemned the increase in the salary

[1] William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, third Duke of Portland (1738-1809), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1782; Prime Minister, 1783.

[2] General Richard Fitzpatrick (1747-1813), the intimate friend of Charles James Fox; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1782; Secretary at War in Coalition Ministry, 1783, and in the ministry of "All the Talents," 1806-7. He was also one of the principal writers of the "Rolliad."

[3] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 5.

of the Lord-Lieutenant, the £2,000 a year paid to his secretary, and such other items. "I do not mention these things, or rise merely with an intention to oppose Government," he said, "but I want to know what is the economical plan of Government, or whether they have any such. If they run into extraordinary expenses, I will, if I should have the misfortune of standing alone, oppose every expensive measure." But though Mornington was, in such cases, always to be found acting independently, yet as a rule he supported the Government. Later in the year he spoke frankly on the volunteer movement in Ireland[1] and endorsed a resolution sent up from the House of Commons protesting against an armed assembly holding regular sittings in the neighbourhood of Parliament. "This address comes from the Commons, and they desire your Lordships to concur in it," he declared. "The assembly of the volunteers has sat for nearly three weeks, with all the forms of Parliament; and will any noble Lord say that they have no intention to infringe the privileges of Parliament, and to attempt the total extinction of the laws of the land? Have not both Houses of Parliament been surrounded by armed mobs? and will any man pretend to say it is not time for this House to interfere?

[1] The first regiment of Irish volunteers was formed at Dublin, under the command of the Duke of Leinster, in October, 1779.

Shall any noble Lord, high in office though not in confidence, or any noble Lord in confidence though not in office, not have a sense of the danger of the times, as the House of Commons seems to have? I am for this Address, and upon this ground, that it offers to His Majesty a sufficient and a necessary pledge of our loyalty and affection to his person and the constitution of the country; and to the people it speaks our firmness—for Parliament will not be robbed of its privileges, even by its own children; and we cannot, for the sake of our posterity, suffer it. We ought to give the Government our assistance, when its imbecility may require it, to support the Constitution. A great deal has been said relative to the volunteers. There is no man that reveres, that respects them more than I do; their temper and moderation have made the greatest impression upon my mind, but I am not blind to their imperfections, when I find that they have gone beyond the original idea of their institution. If the Constitution is suffered to be infringed, I will not remain to be a witness of it, but leave the country. If the Constitution is not supported, no body of people can be happy."

Shortly after the letter to Grattan was written, Mornington proposed to play a part upon a larger stage, and he decided to enter the English House of Commons, which offered greater scope for his abilities than the Irish House of Lords. He was in 1784 nominated by the Earl of Beverley

as one of the members for the borough of Beer Alston, Devonshire.[1] He made an excellent impression as a speaker, but was by no means satisfied with his position as a private member, and was desirous of securing appointment to some official position. He wanted both recognition of his talent and scope for its further display.

In November of that year he suggested to the Duke of Rutland[2] that in the event of Lord Walsingham's appointment to India he might be appointed to the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, which would then become vacant. The proposition was warmly backed by the Duke, who wrote to Pitt: "We both, I am convinced, feel anxious on every account to see Lord Mornington in a situation where he may be pledged as an avowed and responsible supporter of Government in both countries; and if this arrangement could be made in his favour, all difficulties would be entirely removed. I confess I cannot help feeling particularly anxious to see his views gratified, both from the high opinion which, in common with others, I have formed of his talents and public merits, as well as from the sincere and unequivocal regard I personally bear him; and in both which views of the question I am persuaded you are not

[1] Beer Alston returned two members to Parliament from the reign of Queen Elizabeth until it was disenfranchised by the Reform Bill.

[2] Charles Manners, fourth Duke of Rutland (1754-1787), Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1784, until his death.

behindhand with me. I must therefore press this matter to your consideration as a circumstance which would naturally tend to the ease of my administration, and which would add, I will venture to say, credit and force to Government in England."[1] High praise indeed for a statesman to bestow upon a stripling of twenty-four. Though Mornington was not given the Vice-Treasurership, it seems that he was promised something, for, writing to Grenville[2] on January 26, 1785, he mentioned that the office of President of the Council had been offered to the Duke of Leinster, and said: "I consider this offer as a distinct breach with me, as (at the time it was made) my situation had not been provided for in any degree."[3]

In 1786, however, Pitt appointed him a Lord of the Treasury. Upon the acceptance of this office of profit under the crown he had to offer himself for re-election to Parliament. "Lord Beverley," says Torrens, "affronted with what he deemed neglect of his political claims, refused to return Mornington again for Beer Alston, whereby he was driven to seek for a seat in the less compliant borough of Saltash."[4] There was a contest,

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* i. 241-2.

[2] William Wyndham Grenville (1759-1834), created Baron Grenville 1790, had been Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1782-1783, and was now joint Paymaster-General. He was Foreign Secretary 1791-1801, and the head of the "All the Talents" Ministry, 1806-1807.

[3] *Fortescue MSS.* i. 245.

[4] *Wellesley*, 67.

and Mornington was returned by a small majority, only to be unseated on petition. For several months he was not in Parliament, and then he found a seat at Windsor, which constituency he represented until he went to India in 1796. Thenceforth he took a prominent part in the proceedings of the House, and in the debate in February 1787, on the Treaty of Commerce with France, rising after Burke, spoke with effect. "It has been eloquently urged," he said, "that whatever may be the commercial merits of the treaty, from a political view it prostrates the majesty of this country at the feet of France, and deposes Great Britain from the throne of Europe. I answer that the true majesty of Great Britain is her trade, and the throne of the commerce of the world is the fitting object of her ambition. I say that the industry and ingenuity of our manufactures, the opulence which these have diffused through various channels, the substantial foundation of capital on which they have placed our trade—capital which has this night been well described as predominant and tyrant over the trade of the whole world—all these, as they have been our best consolation in defeat, are the most promising sources of future victory; and that to cultivate, to strengthen, and to augment these, cannot be inconsistent with the glory of the kingdom." Mornington was again to the fore in the Regency question of 1788. The King was ill,

and apparently it would soon be necessary to appoint a Regent. The Prince of Wales was the natural selection, but he was on bad terms with his mother, and openly opposed to the Government. Pitt and his colleagues were, therefore, anxious to postpone the matter as long as possible, but action had to be taken after Dr. Warren stated, on November 26, that the "physicians could now have no hesitation in pronouncing that the actual disorder was that of lunacy; that no man could pretend to say that this was or was not curable; that he saw no immediate symptoms of recovery; and that the King might never recover, or, on the other hand, might recover at any moment." Fox then complicated the issue by declaring in the House of Commons that, "in his firm opinion, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has as clear, as express a right to assume the reins of government and exercise the powers of sovereignty during the continuance of the King's illness and incapacity with which it has pleased God to afflict His Majesty, as in the case of His Majesty having undergone a natural and perfect demise." The contention was insupportable, and Pitt, supported by Mornington, opposed it tooth and nail. In the end a restricted Regency was agreed upon, but before it became effective the King recovered, and on February 26 a bulletin announced "the entire cessation of His Majesty's illness." Earlier in the

year Mornington had gone to Ireland, there from his place in the House of Lords to oppose the unrestricted Regency being granted as a matter of right. This motion was, however, passed by the Irish Parliament, and a deputation to the Prince of Wales arrived in London—the day after the King's recovery.

Mornington was a staunch Liberal, and a stalwart supporter of the various items in the programme of the party. He believed in Free Trade, and opposed any concession to Protection; and he was wholeheartedly with Wilberforce[1] in his abhorrence of the Slave Trade. He attacked Dundas[2] when in 1792 as Home Secretary he proposed the gradual abolition of this commerce in human beings, and on April 25 moved as an amendment to Dundas' motion that the Slave Trade should cease at the end of the year. When, two days later, the House of Commons went into committee on Dundas' resolution, "That in the opinion of this Committee, it shall not be lawful to import any African negroes into any of the British colonies or plantations in ships owned or navigated by British subjects, at any time after

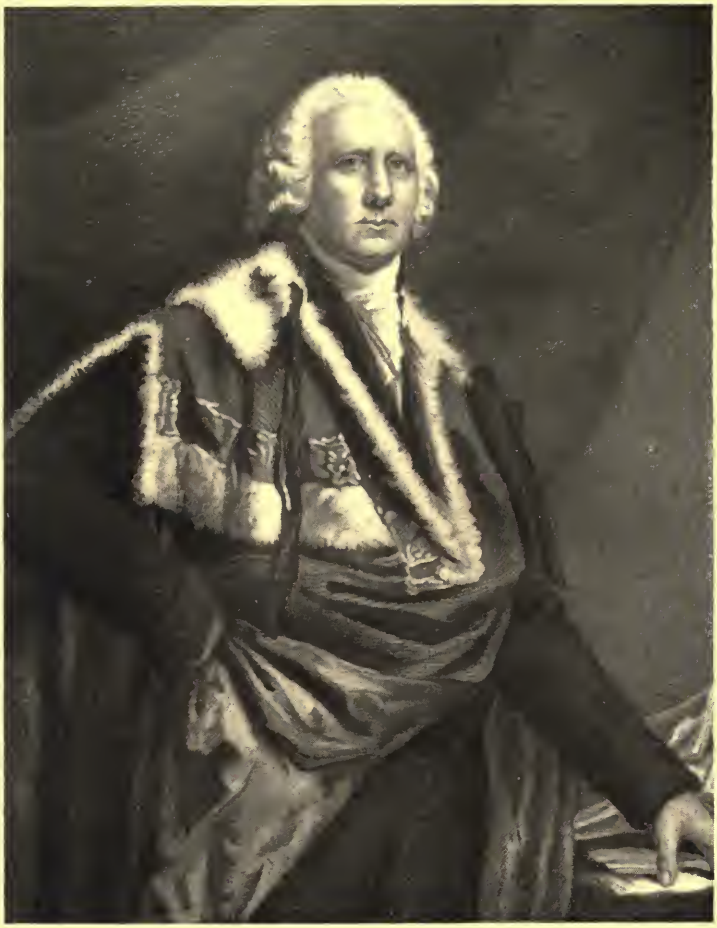
[1] William Wilberforce (1759-1833), philanthropist, the Parliamentary leader of the party devoted to securing the abolition of slavery. It was not until 1807 that a Bill with this object received the Royal assent.

[2] Henry Dundas (1742-1811), created Viscount Melville, 1802, a friend and colleague of Pitt, was at this time Home Secretary, which office he held from 1791 to 1794, in which year he became Secretary at War.

the first day of January 1800," he protested in a vigorous speech, in which he declared that, "Every hour that this nefarious traffic was allowed to be continued was a disgrace to Great Britain."

With the project for Parliamentary Reform he was not, however, in sympathy, and on May 7, 1793, he addressed the Commons against a motion moved by Charles Grey.[1] "Although questions of great magnitude and importance have engaged the attention of the House since the affairs of France have been the immediate subject of deliberation, the Hon. Gentleman will find that a topic leading to such serious reflections, and furnishing such useful lessons, has not been so soon effaced from the memory of this House or of the country; the business of this day must revive every passage of those transactions with the most direct application to the present question. It will be pressed home to the recollection and to the feeling of every British subject that a change in the existing Government (the avowed object of this motion) was the great revolutionary machine, by the working of which our enemies trusted to reduce this happy people to the level of their own miserable condition." In later years,

[1] Charles Grey (1764-1845), the eldest son of General Charles Grey (1729-1807), who was created Baron in 1801 and Earl in 1806. Charles, second Earl Grey, was a supporter of Parliamentary Reform. He was Foreign Secretary, 1806-7, and Prime Minister, 1831-4.



Sir Hy. Raeburn, R.A., pinxt. *S. Freeman, sculpt.*

HENRY DUNDAS, 1ST VISCOUNT MELVILLE

however, Mornington approved and supported the Reform Bill.

Mornington, who had been a member of the Irish Privy Council since 1785, was on June 21, 1793, sworn a member of the English Privy Council. Seven days later he left the Treasury to become a Commissioner of the Board of Control of the East India Company's affairs. Always interested in India—his maiden speech in the English House of Commons had been on Warren Hastings and the conduct of the Rohilla war—he had now every opportunity to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of the Indian Empire. "He acquainted himself," wrote Pearce, his earliest biographer, "as far as possible, with the details of every fact bearing upon the commerce, the government, and the laws of the country; and with the instinctive sagacity of great genius pondered upon the future destiny and the possible exigencies of Hindostan."[1] How thoroughly, and to what good end he devoted himself to the study of Indian affairs, the future was to show.

Mornington spoke regularly in the House of Commons, and on January 21, 1794, delivered an oration on the subject of the war with France. William Windham declared that the Earl "had recapitulated the conduct of France in a manner so masterly, so true, and so alarming, as seriously to fix the attention of the House and nation";

[1] *Memoirs of Wellesley*, i. 59.

but it is only fair to state that Sheridan subsequently recalled the occasion and spoke of the oration in a very different tone: "Exactly two years ago, at the opening of the session," he remarked, "I remember to have seen the noble Lord, with the same sonorous voice, the same placid countenance, in the same attitude, leaning gracefully upon the table, and giving an account, from shreds and patches of Brissot, that the French Republic would last but a few months longer." The truth probably lay between these two extremes, but the general voice certainly praised Mornington.

In spite of his appointment to the Board of Control, he was still far from satisfied with his position and prospects, and thought that higher office was his due. His feelings are clearly expressed in the following letter.

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* HENRY ADDINGTON

May 3, 1794

I am very much afraid, from a variety of circumstances, that Pitt has no idea of altering my situation this year. I cannot tell you how much mortified I am at that and other symptoms, not of unkindness, but of (what perhaps I deserve) decided preference to others. I have serious thoughts of relinquishing the whole pursuit, and becoming a spectator (not a very indifferent one, as you may believe, either to the success of the war, or to Pitt's interest and honour),

but I cannot bear to creep on in my present position.[1]

In June Pitt coalesced with the Portland party, and in the general shuffle of offices no higher post was found for Mornington.

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* HENRY ADDINGTON

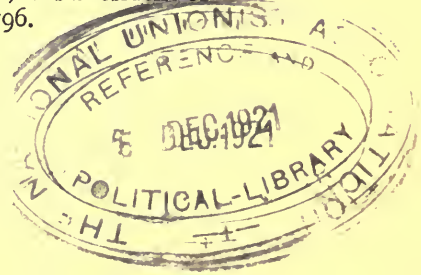
Brighton: *July* 27, 1794

You seemed to wish to hear from me, and I imagined that wish to arise chiefly from your kind anxiety to know whether anything passed between Pitt and me before I left town. Pitt sent for me the day of my departure, and told me that in settling this treaty [with the Duke of Portland and his supporters], he had positively stipulated that I should have the next office (to be held with the Privy Council) which should become vacant; and he further informed me that the Duke of Portland entered very readily into this arrangement, and said it was but reasonable that I should stand first for such a situation. This is, I own, more than I expected, seeing myself wholly passed over in the late changes, and having received no explanation on the subject. . . . However, I am now satisfied that I was not entirely out of Pitt's mind, which was my principal apprehension.[1]

Mornington, on September 4, 1796, told Addington that in consequence of the death of Lord Mansfield,[2] he had written to Pitt merely to

[1] Pellew: *Life of Sidmouth*, i. 123.

[2] David Murray, second Earl of Mansfield, was President of the Council. He died on September 1, 1796.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express his hope that an opportunity might now occur of promoting him. "My wish," he said, "undoubtedly would be to go to the House of Lords; but I have said no more to Pitt than what I have mentioned above, thinking that it did not become me to enter into any detail with him in this stage of the business."[1] Lord Mansfield, however, was succeeded, not by Mornington, but by Lord Chatham.[2]

[1] Pellew: *Life of Sidmouth*, i. 173.

[2] John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham (1756-1835), eldest son of "The Great Commoner," and brother of William Pitt; Lord Privy Seal, 1794-1796; President of the Council, 1796-1801; Master of the Ordnance, 1801-1806.

BOOK II

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA
1797-1805

BOOK II

GOVERNOR-GENERAL ~~OF INDIA~~ FT. WILLIAM 1797-1805

CHAPTER I

1797

Sir John Shore resigns the office of Governor-General of India: Lord Hobart's claims to succeed him ignored: Lord Cornwallis appointed for the second time Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief: Mornington is offered, and accepts, the government of Madras, with the reversion of Bengal: His correspondence with the Marquess of Buckingham concerning Lord Hobart's claims: Lord Cornwallis goes to Ireland as Commander-in-Chief, and Mornington is appointed Governor-General of India: Created Baron Wellesley of Wellesley in the peerage of Great Britain: He sails for India: His marriage: His children: His family does not accompany him.

SIR JOHN SHORE,[1] who in 1793 had been appointed Governor-General of India in succession to Lord Cornwallis,[2] announced in 1796 his intention to resign that high office. It

[1] Sir John Shore (1751-1834), went to India in 1768 as a Writer in the East India Company's Service, and, showing industry and ability, rose to be a member of the Supreme Council of Bengal, 1787. In 1792 he was created Baronet, and in the following year was appointed Governor-General of India. In the year of his return to England, 1798, he was created Baron Teignmouth in the peerage of Ireland.

[2] Charles Cornwallis, first Marquess and second Earl Cornwallis (1738-1805), entered the army in 1756, and served in the American war. He was Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India from 1786, and held office until 1793.

had generally been assumed that Lord Hobart,[1] Governor of Madras, would have been given the supreme government, and indeed he had been assured when he went to Madras that when a vacancy occurred he would be transferred to Bengal. Shore, however, had been selected because, it was said, he, as a civil servant of the East India Company, had an intimate knowledge of the revenue system. Hobart swallowed his disappointment and remained at Madras, feeling confident that when Shore retired he could not be again overlooked. When this event took place, however, the Directors of the Company appointed Lord Cornwallis for the second time Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief. Hobart, indeed, was not on good terms with the authorities in Leadenhall Street, and an order for his recall was on its way to India. Cornwallis was sworn in on February 1, 1797, and about the same time Mornington was offered the government of Madras, with the reversion of Bengal, an offer he accepted only after he had obtained the assurance that Hobart should receive a pension

[1] Lord Hobart (1760-1816), the eldest son of the third Earl of Buckinghamshire, served from 1784 to 1788 as aide-de-camp, and from 1789-1793 as Chief Secretary to the Viceroy of Ireland. In 1794 he went to India as Governor of Madras. He conducted an expedition against Malacca, and took part in the war against Tipu Sultan. After his recall in 1798 he was created Baron Hobart of Blickling. He succeeded to his father's title in 1804. From 1812 until his death he was President of the Board of Control.

and should be given a peerage during his father's lifetime.

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM[1] *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Stowe: April 16, 1797

The newspapers have informed me that you have accepted the government of Madras with the reversion of the Governor-General. I am very glad for your sake that you have made up your mind to this undertaking, as I am sure that you will discharge the duties of it with credit and advantage to the public. When I was last in town, I wished to have conversed with you upon this subject, but seeing that you did not begin the conversation I concluded that the whole matter remained where we left it when we last talked upon it in the last week of February, and I was the more persuaded of this by Mr. Pitt's constant silence upon the points which I have pressed for explanation, relative to Hobart. But as matters now stand I cannot but be eagerly anxious to know whether you are informed of any arrangement of the nature which I mentioned to you as having been *entertained* by Mr. Pitt, and which I have too much reason to know was impeded (and, I believe, frustrated) by Mr. Dundas. If there is on this subject any secret which has been entrusted to you, and which is meant to be kept from me, I have not the smallest right or wish

[1] George Nugent Temple Grenville, first Marquess of Buckingham (1753-1813), second son of George Grenville, succeeded his uncle as second Earl Temple, 1779; created Marquess, 1784.

to ask it ; but if not, I should feel it as a kindness if I was informed by you what you know respecting the fate of one for whom *we* are so much interested, and who has been so cruelly duped by Mr. Dundas upon the subject of the Governor-General ; and if brought home in the way I fear he will be most cruelly sacrificed by Government to the despicable intrigue of the India House, whom I understand to be adverse to him. Still, I think Mr. Pitt will ultimately be brought to do what is just and right to Lord Hobart, because I cannot think so ill of him as to imagine that he will lend himself to such a system. However, as he will not explain himself, I am very uneasy at the part which I have (from motives of officious friendship) taken in this matter. I do not know what day is fixed for your departure, and my time is so much employed by my dear son (who was again worse yesterday) that I cannot come to town ; and if so, I fear that I have little chance of seeing you again before you sail. If I had, I should have pressed you to believe me most affectionately anxious for your credit and honour, and most earnest in wishing you every comfort and happiness. The prospect of public affairs is most gloomy everywhere, and perhaps the East has (besides its share in the general ruin which is now knocking at our gate in the shape of peace) its particular and peculiar storm that is gathering, and will probably be ready to burst by the time you arrive. I know your abilities are formed to carry you well through your difficulties ; and if the bonds of all civil society are to be broken in

Europe it may be hoped that they may exist in Asia ; and at all events, it little matters how soon the moment of trial comes, if the abject cowardice or treachery of the people force upon Government the sort of peace which Mr. Hammond[1] is sent to negotiate, and which I hold to be a thousand times more dangerous than the most calamitous war. In this moment I see but two glimmerings of daylight : one is in the faint hope that the Arch-Duke [Charles] may beat Buonaparte, the other in the hope which I seriously entertain that the Emperor [of Austria][2] may have made his separate peace before Mr. Hammond arrives.

Adieu, my dear Mornington. If we should not meet, take with you the assurances of a very steady and very affectionate friendship, and the truest wishes for all that you can hope in your undertaking.[3]

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Stowe : April 23, 1797

Very many thanks and very sincere for the trouble you have taken in writing a very long letter upon the subject of Lord Hobart ; and though I do not feel that a provision promised for proposal in the month of May is paramount to the immediate arrangement of Lord Hobart's concerns (as a part of Lord Cornwallis'

[1] George Hammond (1763-1853), Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from 1792 until 1806.

[2] Emperor Francis II. (1768-1835).

[3] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 35.

appointment) which was originally held out by Mr. Pitt and *was afterwards negatived* by Mr. Dundas; still, if Lord Guilford[1] and Mr. Sullivan[2] are satisfied: *liberavi animam meam*; but in justice to Mr. Pitt, I must observe that the idea of calling our friend to the House of Peers immediately *and before Lord Cornwallis sailed* was a measure which he instantly acceded to as soon as I proposed it; and I trust that it will not be forgotten or put by, nor that Lord Hobart will be called upon to consider his *immediate* peerage as a set-off for the uncertainty of the *May proposal*, and for the essential difference to his feelings in the mode of granting the provision, which is certainly not given in the same palatable manner as that which Mr. Dundas has disapproved. I very much lament that Mr. Pitt has not been able, in the course of two months, to write and say one word to me on this matter, for it would have saved me much heavy pain, arising out of Mr. Dundas' letter to Mr. Sullivan, and out of the language of those who are supposed to speak his sentiments at the House.

As to yourself, my dear Lord, you have done (as you always will) most correctly towards everyone; and most wisely for yourself in your conduct respecting the Governorship which you have accepted. I have nothing to add to the chapter of affectionate wishes for you, but much to add

[1] George Augustus North, third Earl of Guilford (1757-1802), who had married Maria, sister of Lord Hobart.

[2] John Sullivan (1749-1839), Under Secretary at War from 1801 to 1805, who had married Henrietta, sister of Lord Hobart.

(whenever we meet) of request that you will not forget one whose feelings, though dead to every political object, are always most active to those whom he loves and esteems.[1]

Lord Cornwallis, who was nearly sixty years of age, was not desirous of going to India, and when the situation in Ireland became desperate, he gladly resigned his post to accept that of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. It was officially announced in May by the India House "that various circumstances had induced the Marquess Cornwallis to resign his appointments," and that "under circumstances and for reasons of a peculiar nature," Mornington had been appointed Governor-General.

The Earl of Mornington *to* The Earl Bathurst[2]

Hertford Street: July 5, 1797

It is now become probable that I shall be sent directly to the Government of Bengal, by which arrangement the Government of Madras will be left open. From some conversation which I had with you a good while ago, I conjectured that you might possibly be induced to turn your thoughts to a high situation in India, and I know that if

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 38.

[2] Henry Bathurst, third Earl Bathurst (1762-1834), a Commissioner of the Board of Control, 1793-1802. He subsequently held high ministerial offices. He did not accept the proposal made by Mornington in this letter. See *infra*, Mornington's letter, July 25.

you could make up your mind to such an adventure, the Government of Madras, with the succession to the Government-General upon my quitting it, would be within your reach.

Without any authority from you I have taken the liberty of suggesting such an arrangement both to Dundas and Pitt ; if it should not coincide with your views to look to this object, I am sure you will pardon me for taking a step which has proceeded from no other motives than my good wishes towards you, my desire to have your assistance in India, and my firm conviction that the public service would derive material advantage from the exertion of your talents.

The Government of Madras at present opens a great field for honourable ambition ; and with that degree of mutual confidence and cordiality which must always subsist between you and me, you would find your situation little if at all inferior to the Supreme Government. The salary and regular emoluments at Madras amount to something between £18,000 and £20,000 a year, and the expenses to about £10,000 at the outside. The climate is perfectly good. Perhaps you will *quiz* all this, and perhaps nothing could persuade you to quit England for such an adventure ; at least believe that nothing but my regard and esteem for you would have induced me to give you or any other person on your account any trouble in this business ![1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37314 f. 1.

T. Phillips, R.A., pinxt. *J. Wright, delt.* *H. Meyer, sculpt.*

HENRY, 3RD EARL BATHURST

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Stowe: July 7, 1797

Mr. Sullivan yesterday sent me a letter which he received from you upon the subject of Lord Hobart. I had written a very long letter to Mr. Pitt upon the communication which you make in it from Mr. Dundas to him, and I even proposed to have come to town in order to have put it myself into Mr. Pitt's hands; but as I found it extremely difficult to avoid the appearance of asperity, though I laboured to keep every sentiment of that sort out of sight in a letter of which I told him it would be necessary for me to send a copy to Hobart, I have, though I am most sensible to the extreme delicacy of your situation, determined to request you to put into Mr. Pitt's hands the copy of your letter to Mr. Sullivan, and of this letter, that he may be apprised of the extreme pain with which Lord Hobart's friends, who have negotiated for his honourable return to this country, have seen the conclusion of it, in a manner and with circumstances so little corresponding with what passed from Mr. Pitt to me and from Mr. Dundas to Mr. Sullivan. The ground assumed by all parties was that Lord Hobart's succession to Bengal must give way to the imperious circumstances which made it necessary to send to that Government Lord Cornwallis, whose appointment spoke for itself, without imputing blame to Lord Hobart. Mr. Pitt to me (and I believe Mr. Dundas to Mr. Sullivan) admitted that for this disappointment our friend, who went to India

under an express promise and even an appointment for Bengal (in which matter he conceived he had been most cruelly treated), was entitled to consideration ; and that for his services in the Ceylon business he was entitled to reward. The peerage, a thing in his circumstances which could only be considered as a mark of approbation, met Mr. Pitt's ideas, and he promised to discuss the period for a company-pension with Mr. Dundas. He probably remembers giving me a reason why it might be wise to delay that arrangement from considerations of East India House management ; but the peerage was stated to be liable to no such difficulty, and appeared to be settled in Mr. Pitt's mind for the day of Lord Cornwallis' embarkation. Six months have rolled over, in the course of which Mr. Dundas had to Mr. Sullivan named the month of May as the period in which he would propose the pension, and in which he would, in case of refusal in Leadenhall Street, propose it in Parliament on Ceylon. From that moment, you, as well as his other friends, considered the Government of Bengal open. But no step has been taken upon it till a few days since, when you were named to it, and Lord Hobart's appointment revoked by your commission.

From these facts then it appears that he is recalled, not by the temporary commission of Lord Cornwallis, but by a permanent commission of a person named to supersede him in Bengal ;

That this is done without the smallest intimation respecting the peerage which was to have been given when Lord Cornwallis embarked ;

That it is done without any defined or explained period for the pension, though the engagement for the month of May has not been kept, and though the chapter of Ceylon must make part of Lord Malmesbury's budget at Lisle ; but the whole of peerage and of pension is left to a very vague assurance (of which I have no doubt) of Mr. Pitt's intention, but referring the period to the very uncertain description of " when it may be possible to execute them." I say nothing upon the other communication from Mr. Dundas in your letter, which states that he means not to write to Lord Hobart upon these arrangements, save that I fear that if Lord Hobart feels all this as strongly as perhaps he may, the bitterness of his disappointment will not be soothed by a silence which appears very hostile to him.

My request is, that you will show this letter in confidence to Mr. Pitt, feeling as I do most strongly the difficulty of your situation, but knowing that you would not forgive me if I was capable of withholding from you the impressions of my mind upon the entire new shape in which Lord Hobart's recall is presented to the public. I have no difficulty in stating all this to Mr. Pitt, because I really am convinced that he has uniformly meant and done fairly by Lord Hobart, and if he has given ground to Mr. Sullivan and me to charge him with unkindness to our friend, it is because his attention has not lately been called to the subject ; and I wish to state it through you because your friendship to all parties relieves you from much of the difficulty which would arise out of the

delicacy of your situation. I write upon no other matter, because I shall have time to write (and I hope to see you) long before the day of your pilgrimage begins.

P.S. Mr. Pitt is (I believe) aware of the communication held with the opponents to Mr. Dundas in the East India House on the subject of this pension, with Mr. Dundas' approbation, and of their assurances.

P.S. I trust to you to let me have a copy of this letter if I should hereafter want one, for I have no time to copy it, and I shall certainly not use it except in sending it to Mr. Sullivan, who has claims upon me.[1]

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Stowe: July 18, 1797

I have been most anxious for a line from you, because you will easily see that it is most essential to our friend Lord Hobart's interests that Mr. Pitt should be aware how much we conceive the ground changed, and how much he suffers by the disappointments consequent to these changes. It is possible that you may decline engaging in these concerns, or in the communication of my letter to you of the 7th July to Mr. Pitt; but in that case I am persuaded you would (from personal considerations both to Lord Hobart and me) inform me that you could not undertake it. At all events, as I am personally committed with Lord Hobart's friends upon this matter, I will

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 48.

beg you to let me know by the return of post whether you have taken any step in consequence of that letter, and what the result of that step may be. And again I repeat, that if for any reasons you feel a disinclination to state it to Mr. Pitt, I have no claim upon you that can distress you: all that I want is to know your determination, that I may either communicate through some other channel, or that I may take such other steps as may be most expedient for my feelings and for Lord Hobart's interests. I likewise wish for a line to tell me your movements, for I hope we shall meet before your pilgrimage begins.

P.S. I understand you were to have seen Mr. Sullivan last Thursday; I have not heard from him, and I dare not write till I have heard from you.[1]

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* THE EARL BATHURST

Hertford Street: July 25, 1797

I felt very sensibly the kind manner in which you received my suggestions respecting the Government of Madras; I most sincerely wish, on every account, that you could have reconciled the undertaking to your feelings, but I cannot blame the grounds of your refusal. . . .

I should be very happy to attend to your recommendation of Major Blackwell, if I had not thought it a point of indispensable necessity to avoid all appointments and engagements until my arrival in India. I have observed this rule so rigorously that I do not mean to take any

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 49.

person to India with me (my servants excepted) but my brother Henry,[1] now at Lille with Lord Malmesbury. If I should find Major Blackwell in India, your recommendation will render me anxious to show him every mark of attention and civility; until my arrival at Calcutta it would be quite inconsistent with my plan to say more. Whenever you come to London, you will hear of me in Park Lane, and a letter from you will bring me to town to meet you. I mean to sail the first week in September.[2]

The Duke of Portland *to* The Earl of Mornington

Whitehall: October 5, 1797

I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that I have received the King's commands to order a warrant to be prepared for his Royal signature for creating you a Baron of Great Britain. I therefore desire your Lordship will send me, as soon as possible, the title you may fix upon, that I may be enabled to fulfil the gracious intentions of His Majesty.[3]

I beg leave to congratulate your Lordship upon this distinguished mark of His Majesty's favour.[4]

[1] The Hon. Henry Wellesley went to India as Mornington's private secretary.

[2] Add. MSS. 37314 f. 2.

[3] Mornington selected the title of Baron Wellesley, of Wellesley, Somerset.

[4] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 51.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Bath: October 9, 1797

As I fear you will have set sail before my return to London, which will hardly be till a very few days before the meeting of Parliament, I must now take up my pen just to bid you a cordial farewell. May you enjoy the guidance and protection of Heaven in the very important station which you will fill; and may you return with a good conscience, a large stock of honour, and an uninjured stock of health. If I can be of any service or comfort to you in this country, it will give me pleasure. Once more, all good attend you.[1]

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

October 11, 1797

I am sorry to find from my brother that I have no chance of being able to assure you personally before you sail for India of the affectionate interest I take in your credit and happiness. I was in hopes that by some chance we might have met, but as it is now impossible, receive, I beg you, my warmest wishes for your health and success. I could have wished very particularly for your sake that you could have carried with you, for the relief of the uneasy moments of your long voyage, more cheerful reflections on the present state of European politics; but it is impossible to speculate, and hardly possible to hope where

[1] Add. MSS. 37805 f. 55.

every measure that has been judged expedient by ministers, whether of war or of negotiation, has failed. It is, however, matter of real consolation in such a moment that the government of the most valuable part of our dominions will be in hands so safe, and that we shall be relieved from the fear of seeing India by mismanagement and intrigue thrown into the throes of revolt of the most dangerous nature. If the war should continue, much may be done against Spain from that quarter; on this subject you have doubtless thought much, but I am much tempted to believe that the difficulties which I have heard stated on that head have been very ignorantly and idly exaggerated, and that the facilities of a successful attempt to shake the Spaniard on the western shore of his American empire are infinitely greater than on the eastern. You will get much valuable information on this head from the old voyages of the buccaneers, and I am confident that the spirit of private adventure in privateers of force might be very usefully directed from India to the most important objects on the coast of Peru.

I am not going to solicit any job, but I have been much pressed to request you to permit some one of your suite to take charge of the enclosed letter, and to recommend the lad to your notice. He is son to dear Warburton, and has been remarkably well educated in the knowledge of the Persian and Hindoo languages, and is well spoken of.

P.S. Many congratulations on your peerage.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 57.

Mornington sailed for India on November 7, 1797, accompanied by his brother Henry, whom he had appointed his private secretary. His private life had been irregular, and some of his friends were much troubled about it. "I have received from Mornington a most affectionate letter upon his appointment [as a Lord of the Treasury]," Lord Buckingham wrote to Grenville in August 1786, "which has enabled me to answer him with much advice as to his future exertions, and with some advice as to the necessity of reconciling his *domestic life* to that public character which we both wish for him."[1] He was then living with Mademoiselle Hyacinthe Gabrielle Roland, a young lady of whom it has been written that she had not been particularly well brought up, and that her associations were unlike those of her lover, but that she was possessed of wit and beauty.[2] She bore him several children—Richard,[3] Henry,[4] Gerald, Anne,[5] and

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* i. 265.

[2] Torrens: *Wellesley*, 101.

[3] Richard Wellesley, politician, entered Parliament in 1810. He held office under different Governments.

[4] Henry Wellesley (1791-1866), was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1816 was entered at Lincoln's Inn, but subsequently abandoned his legal studies and took holy orders. In 1842 he was vice-president of New Inn Hall, Oxford, and from 1847 Principal. He was an accomplished scholar and a diligent archæologist.

[5] Anne Wellesley married, in 1806, Sir William Abdy (1779-1868), seventh and last baronet of Felix Hall, Essex. She was divorced in 1816. The circumstances leading up to the divorce are narrated in full in the Wellesley Papers in the British Museum.

Mary Hyacinthe[1]—and to those children he was devoted.

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* LORD GRENVILLE

Naples: January 18, 1791

Although I have troubled you with a most unreasonably long letter so lately, I cannot delay my answer to your letter of the 23rd December, which gave me such sincere heartfelt satisfaction as I scarcely ever received from any event in my life. After so long and so intimate a friendship I could not be surprised at any instance of the goodness of your heart or of the warmth of your regard for me, but it was not possible to take any method of proving either which could affect me so deeply as your visit to my little children. For many obvious reasons I have never mentioned them to you, although I thought it my duty to them to name you as one of their guardians in my will. I have now abundant reason to know that you would not think that office troublesome, if it should happen to devolve on you. I never can forget either the manner or the time you have chosen to set my mind at ease on a subject sufficiently anxious from its own nature, and (I am sorry to add) rendered much more so by the conduct of my brother Pole, who has never *even seen* three of my children. After the interest you have taken in their situation I ought not to conceal from you a circumstance which makes it so much more

[1] Mary Hyacinthe Wellesley (d. 1849) married, in 1812, Edward John Littleton, of Teddersley Park, Stafford (1791-1864), who in 1835 was created Baron Hatherton.

delicate, but I am sure you will not allow this communication to go any further. I leave you to judge with what pain I left them in the state of health which forced me to leave England, when my brother *never mentioned them* to me at my departure; and although I have had the good fortune, in a great measure, to recover my health, which has diminished in some degree the anxiety I felt on their account, it is too painful to me to know that he has never been near them during my absence. However you may lament a conduct so unfeeling, and (let me add) so ungrateful, it must be a pleasure to so kind a heart as yours to be acquainted with the full extent of the kindness you have done; and you will easily perceive that the disagreeable circumstance of the neglect of the person who should naturally be the protector of these children gives additional value to any attention from my friends. Whatever may have been the folly which produced these little children, I am sure you have too much real feeling not to agree with me that they are a charge as dear and as sacred as if they had been born under the most solemn engagement.[1]

On November 29, 1794, Mornington married Mademoiselle Roland, and the ceremony, we are told, was graced by a few of his political friends. He thought it best under the circumstances not to take her with him to India, but he commended her and the children to the care of his friends.

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* ii. 18.

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* LORD AUCKLAND[1]

Funchal, Island of Madeira
November 25, 1797

I am anxious to take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the several kind notes which I had the pleasure of receiving from you during the hurry, or rather the agony, of my last moments in England. Pray believe that I am deeply sensible of your friendly attentions to me and to Lady Mornington, and that I shall always remember your amiable family with those sentiments of admiration and cordial interest which must be raised in the mind of every person who has the happiness of being admitted into your society. Your kindness to Lady Mornington will occasion no trouble to you with your good nature and obliging disposition, and it will be invaluable to her and to me under her present affliction.[2]

Mornington missed her sorely, and before he had been in India a year wanted her to come out to him,[3] but, in the end, wrote to Grenville: "I have determined not to send for Lady Mornington; the voyage, the climate, might injure her health, and it is my duty not to separate her from her children."[4]

[1] William Eden, first Baron Auckland (1744-1814), statesman and diplomatist, joint Postmaster-General, 1798-1804, President of the Board of Trade, 1806-1807.

[2] *Correspondence of Lord Auckland*, iii. 384.

[3] See *infra* p. 81, Mornington to Grenville, November 18, 1798.

[4] *Fortescue MSS.* v. 268. Mornington to Grenville, August 9, 1799.

CHAPTER II

1798-1805

The state of India : Mornington's confidence : News from home : European politics : The state of England : Unrest in Ireland : Lord Hobart on his recall : The Irish disturbances : Lord Hawkesbury on the Union : The battle of the Nile : Mornington on his work : Ireland and the Union : Bathurst on affairs : Letters from Wilberforce and Lord Auckland : England flourishing : The Union : Mornington and the Mysore Campaign : Created Marquess Wellesley : His mortification : Congratulation and sympathy : Activity in India : Friction with the Company : Pitt's resignation : Addington's Ministry : Prosperity at home : Wellesley's policy in India : His success : He is urged to continue there : The treaty of Amiens : The Government's appreciation of his work : Assaye : Wellesley's high-handedness : War with Holkar : A letter from his son : He proposes to retire : The ignominious tyranny of Leadenhall Street : A vote of censure : Wellesley resigns.

MORNINGTON arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in February, 1798, and there encountered Lord Hobart, on his way home, who was able to give him the latest news of India. He also found there Major William Kirkpatrick, who had been resident at Haiderábád until the previous year, when he had been invalided. Mornington was greatly impressed with him, and took him to India as his military secretary, in which position he proved himself invaluable until 1801, when, his health giving way, he had to return to England. Such information

as was obtainable at Cape Town made it abundantly clear to the new Governor-General that he had taken the reins at a very critical moment. The conquest and pacification of various states was the task that lay before him. He had, in fact, to carry further the work of his great predecessor, Warren Hastings. Possessed of illimitable confidence in himself, he spared neither labour nor thought, and faced every difficulty with a calm determination to overcome it. A crushing defeat had in 1792 been inflicted upon Tipu, the Sultan of Mysore, by Cornwallis. He was shorn of half his dominions, and mulcted of between three and four millions of treasure. Under the non-intervention policy of Shore, Tipu had quickly increased his army, which he placed under French officers. He had been in active negotiation for the support of the French. Indeed, so far had he progressed in these negotiations that on the day that Mornington reached Madras, April 26, 1798, a body of French troops landed at Mangalore. Again, in spite of quarrels amongst themselves, the Marátha States were at one in their desire to rid themselves of the English. The Nizam of Haiderábád, too, who was bound by treaty to have no relation with France, had in 1798 not less than 14,000 troops trained by French officers. There was, further, good reason to believe that at the first favourable moment that presented itself an attack on Delhi would

be made by Záman Shah, the Afghan leader. It was to these vital matters that Mornington at once addressed himself, and he began to prepare the ground for negotiations and, if need be, for offensive operations.

The records of his rule will be found in the well-known *Despatches*, but a selection from his unofficial correspondence with his relatives and friends may here be inserted.

The Earl Bathurst *to* The Earl of Mornington

Piccadilly: January 3, 1798

I am much obliged to you for your letter from Funchal, and am very glad that you have performed what is generally reckoned the most uncertain, and, therefore, the most unpleasant part of your voyage so successfully.

I understood from Lady Mornington that she kept the newspapers in order to send them to you. You will, therefore, there see the account of the measure which Pitt has brought forward, and which will be read the third time to-day in the House of Commons.[1] The clamour raised against it in London (the country throughout has been

[1] Pitt's budget, which was introduced on November 24 1797, was very unpopular. He had a deficit of £19,000,000, the result of the expenses of the war, which he proposed to cover by borrowing £12,000,000, and raising £7,000,000 by trebling the assessed taxes. When the King and Queen went in state to St. Paul's on December 19 to give thanks for the naval victories won by Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan, Pitt, on the way to the city, was hooted by the mob, and on the return journey was escorted by a troop of horse.

more quiet) was more violent and more general than any I ever knew. It was at the height the week when the King was to go to St. Paul's, with which also everybody was angry, as ill-timed and absurd, so that I thought everything unpleasant was to be expected on that day. But the extraordinary care which was taken to prevent disturbances by lining the streets from Buckingham House to St. Paul's with troops, the good disposition of the people at the bottom, however angry they might be with the tax, the almost miraculous fineness of the day, which was like one in summer, and appeared the finer from the constant fogs or rain which preceded it, together with a famous speech of Pitt's the day before, in which, with declaring his intention of modifying the tax, he also declared his determination at all hazard of persisting in it, had such an effect that the King was wonderfully well received, and Pitt had many more applauses than hisses. His entry at St. Paul's was so favourable that an Opposition man said it was too bad, and went away in a passion. Since that day things have gone on much better. I am afraid the modifications will reduce the produce of the tax very materially, and it certainly will be felt too severely not to occasion much discontent.

The fortunate policy of the Duke of Dorset[1] will enable Pitt to make an arrangement by which Lord Auckland will be Postmaster in the room

[1] John Frederick Sackville, third Duke of Dorset (1745-1799), Ambassador-Extraordinary to France, 1783-1789, and Lord Steward of the Household from 1789 until February 1798, when he retired.

of Lord Chesterfield, who is to be Master of the Horse. Lord Westmorland succeeds the Duke of Dorset.

You will know before you receive this letter that Lord Clive[1] goes to Madras, and Frederick North[2] to Ceylon. The last appointment has something which looks like a job, and not a good one for him, as the climate is not supposed to be good. Lord Guilford continues ill, although all immediate danger is at an end, so our old friend Frank North[3] has a chance of becoming an hereditary Counsellor of State.

There is a very unpleasant account received from Barbadoes of a dispute in which Lord Camelford[4] is represented as having killed a sailor, and that the island is very much exasperated against him, demanding his trial. There are no accounts received by the family which confirm it, nor have the West India merchants received any letters which mention it. I am in hopes that the affair will appear to be very much exaggerated. It affects poor Lady Grenville very much. I dined New Year's day with Ph. Metcalfe, who was greater than usual : *Viperino il Grenadino* the Veritable, a glass of the twelve Apostles, a Boar's Head *el magnifico*, Dutch Herrings, a dainty

[1] Edward Clive, second Baron Clive (1754-1839), eldest son of Robert, first Baron Clive, was Governor of Madras, 1798-1803. He was created Earl of Powis, 1804.

[2] Frederick North (1766-1827), younger son of Frederick, second Earl of Guilford, was Governor of Ceylon, 1798-1805. He succeeded his brother as (fifth) Earl of Guilford, 1817.

[3] Francis North, fourth Earl of Guilford (1761-1817).

[4] Thomas Pitt, second Baron Camelford (1775-1804), naval officer.

given by Hope, and some Constantia Capitalissimo.

Lady Mornington was so good as to let your eldest boy dine with us yesterday, and we went to the new harlequin farce. I never saw a better behaved boy, so steady, and so quick at understanding what was going on. I hope to see him again before he goes to school. He brought me Lady Mornington's messages that she had an opportunity of sending letters to India to-morrow, which [I have] therefore availed myself of [this] morning by writing a very stupid letter to you. I shall be impatient to hear of your arrival in Bengal, and that the climate there does not disagree with you.[1]

LORD AUCKLAND *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Palace Yard: April 22, 1798

It is a formidable enterprise. I am, however, determined to write a long letter to you, and I have sent a circular to the Speaker, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Canning, to exhort them to do the same. If my summons should produce anything, I will send it under this cover.

I call it a formidable enterprise, for the objects which present themselves are so multitudinous, so large, and at the same time so unsettled, that I am at a loss in what order to take them.

First, as to the great politics of the European continent. The Jacobin Directoire is at this hour apparently more powerful and more consolidated than when you left us in October, Switzerland

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 80.

and the papal territories have been overrun and revolutionised. Naples and Florence are menaced; Holland is subjugated more than ever; great demands of concessions both to the right and left of the Rhine are making at Rastadt[1]; immense preparations are making to invade both Ireland and Great Britain. Both the Parisians and the French provinces, and the new conquests, submit to the will and pleasure of their war kings without a murmur, and there are no longer complaints of the want of money or of the prevalence of factions, or of any difficulty, either real or imaginary. On the other hand, it is most notorious that, both in France and in the conquered countries, there exists a general detestation of the pretended Republican Government, and an extreme impatience under the hardships and miseries which that Government has produced; and we know that the Courts of Vienna and Germany are at last awakened to the dangers which they have brought upon themselves, and upon the whole system of civilisation. We are not without hopes that every post may bring an account of the rupture of the Congress and Conferences at Rastadt, and of some joint declaration on the part of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to abide all the consequences, and to oppose themselves to any French pretensions tending to affect either the integrity of the Empire or the independence of Italy. Secret overtures are even made to us to know whether

[1] A congress of the European Powers assembled at Rastadt, Baden, in December, 1797, to treat of a general peace, and negotiations to this end were carried on during the following year.

eventually we would give pecuniary aid in support of such an explosion. My belief respecting it is, that if it were fairly and completely to take place, the whole colossus of the French Power would speedily and suddenly fall to pieces. In the meantime, however, the experience which we have purchased (at no small price) decides us to rely on our own strength and resources, and though we would again draw our purse-strings to pay for any effective co-operation unequivocally rendered, we are proceeding on the more certain ground of arming the country, blockading the French ports, and preparing to resist any invasion with success, at the same time that our naval force may be expected to baffle any attempts to approach our coasts. Admiral Onslow[1] blockades Holland and the Northern Seas. Lord Bridport[2] is at the north of the Channel or off Brest with fourteen or sixteen ships. We have a small squadron actually in the mouth of the Seine. Lord St. Vincent covers the coast of Spain ; Sir Roger Curtis[3] has a squadron of ten ships of the line off Cork.

I next turn to the interior of the two kingdoms. With respect to this good old island, I can say with extreme pleasure and confidence that I never have seen it so rightly disposed in any period of this perilous hour. The general spirit and principles

[1] Sir Richard Onslow, first baronet (1741-1817), Admiral, created baronet for his services at Camperdown, 1797.

[2] Alexander Hood, Baron Bridport (1727-1814), Admiral, Commander of the Channel Fleet, 1797-1800. He was created Viscount Bridport, 1801.

[3] Sir Roger Curtis (1746-1816), Admiral, joined the fleet at Cadiz under Lord St. Vincent, 1798 ; Commander-in-Chief at the Cape of Good Hope, 1799.

of the people are excellent. There certainly exist in London, Manchester, and other places, clubs and secret societies of men collected and affiliated as "United English" on grounds of the wildest and bloodiest democracy. But they are few in number, and composed of the refuse of mankind. In other respects the country is at least as prosperous as when you left it. The commercial returns are higher than ever. The produce of the *old* taxes for the year ending the 5th April, 1798, is near £400,000 higher than for the year ending the 5th April, 1797. The whole produce of the voluntary contributions (which at present amount to about £1,350,000, and to which, by-the-bye, the East India Settlements ought to subscribe) is not material as a measure of supply, but most essentially important as a testimony of right feelings and of national spirit. Mr. Pitt is this week to bring forward his new loan of £17,000,000 (including for Ireland), and I have strong reasons to believe that we shall have it at 48 in 3 per cents., being better terms than in the preceding year. Money abounds, though the bank continues, wisely, to be precluded from paying in cash; and bullion still flows in from the Continent under a rate of exchange even rather more favourable than when you left us. Great military preparations are making in every part of the country, and with alacrity and universal cheerfulness. I privately incline to believe that these preparations are superfluous, and that the French will never make the attempt, except in small numbers, to agitate us and to inflame our enemies.

At all events, it is right to be most fully prepared. I will enclose to you the *Travel Gazettes* for the last month. From the return of that despotism the newspapers are jejune and uninteresting; however, you will be able to collect from the perusal many notions beyond what I can convey.

In our Parliament we are also doing well. I will send to you eight or ten of the last numbers of the Parliamentary Debates as published by Woodfall, because I do not know with certainty whether you have ordered them. Mr. Fox continues to be a seceder, and the Opposition peers have followed his example. Mr. Spencer is grown tired of the spade, and is come forward with a declaration that, reserving his claims to punish Ministers hereafter, he will now give to them an unequivocal support. It is true that he accompanied that declaration by immediately dividing the House against Government, and the division was in the proportion of five to 190. We have taken and imprisoned various batches of traitors, and they will be brought to trial. O'Connor and Co. are to be tried on the 31st, at Maidstone, and it is confidently supposed that some of them will be convicted.[1] I ought not to close the account of this country without adding that the King is in perfect health and in cheerful, steady spirits.

[1] Arthur O'Connor, a priest named O'Coighly, and three others were arrested at Margate while on their way to France. O'Coighly was convicted and hanged, but O'Connor and the others were acquitted. Fox, Sheridan, and others bore witness to O'Connor's character and principles. O'Connor was subsequently arrested on another charge, and gave evidence as to the conspiracy. See *infra* p. 65.

Mr. Pitt is also particularly well. I see him constantly, either in Downing Street or at Holwood. You know that (excepting perhaps during the naval mutiny) he never has inclined to despondency or even to serious discouragement. At present he entertains strong hopes that all will somehow end well. Our pecuniary resources are grievously stretched. There is no other part of our position that materially alarms me, for if we *can maintain* the contest France must give way, and she cannot now give way by halves; there remains no compromise for her. I should add one word as to this great Metropolis: it is good-humoured and gay; the theatres are all more brilliant and more crowded than ever, and there are great balls and suppers for 300 or 400 almost every night in the week.

So much for England! I wish that I could speak in a similar way with respect to Ireland.[1] The situation there has been infinitely more critical than when you left it. And at one period we were (privately) apprehensive that every post might bring to us accounts of some general insurrection and massacre. In the midst of

[1] Ireland, in the spring of 1797, was in a turbulent state, and Ulster was in almost open revolt. It is a curious contrast with Ulster's present protest against Home Rule that, as Mr. T. D'Arcy McGee says in his *History of Ireland*, "the Presbyterian body were in the beginning all but unanimous for a republican revolution" as an alternative to the threatened Union with England. The Government took strong measures, and crushed the conspiracy in Ulster. Later in the year the news that Napoleon was preparing "the army of England" fomented the spirit of rebellion. In March, 1798, a plan was made to seize Dublin Castle, whereupon the city was placed under martial law.

that crisis Sir Ralph Abercromby[1] published a wretched military order calculated (unintentionally) to disgust the army and to give spirit to the insurgents. The animadversions on his conduct obliged him to resign, but, the storm thickening before his resignation could be accepted, bitter proclamations were issued, and he is now actively employed in disarming the Irish. I will enclose his last proclamation. It is ill-written, with truisms, platitudes, and a disregard of the grammatical rules of reference *proximo antecedenti*, but the sense and meaning are good, and in the meantime his new system is materially aided by the arrival of our fleet off Cork, which dispirits the insurgents, who have positive assurances from France that a French army shall land before the end of the present month. I know that Lady Mornington will have sent to you Lord Clare's speech.[2] It was a notable performance, and is well worth your perusal, even at so great a distance both of time and space. The Orange Boys, as they are called in Ireland, are growing numerous (above 30,000), and are most inveterate against the United Irish. They are a dangerous species of ally ; however, to a certain degree it is necessary to use them. I

[1] Sir Ralph Abercromby (1734-1801), General, appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland, December, 1797. On February 26, 1798, he issued a general order that the militia, owing to their want of discipline, were far more dangerous to their friends than to their enemies.

[2] John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare (1749-1802), appointed in 1789 Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The speech to which reference is made was that delivered by him (and subsequently printed) on February 19, 1798, in the House of Lords in reply to Lord Moira's attack on the Government for its coercive policy in Ireland.

enclose to you their last handbill, which will show their spirit and principles. I received to-day the account of the Irish Assizes, in the course of which near 100 persons have been sentenced to death, and must be executed for assassinations, treasonable oaths, etc., etc., etc. ; among the rest twelve men for the murder of Colonel St. George. I wish that I could have given to you a less gloomy account of Ireland.

In speaking of France I ought to have added that her position with respect to the American States approaches very nearly to a state of war, and the American vessels now go avowedly under British convoy. Hamburg has been bullied into a loan of 4,000,000 livres. The ships of Denmark and Sweden are taken by the French privateers ; in short, it is become a system of general rapine and piracy, resisted only by the firmness and energy and resources of this kingdom.

I think that our plea for the additional assessed taxes was in considerable preparation before you left us. It was materially injured by the exceptions and modifications which Mr. Pitt thought it prudent to admit, and I greatly doubt whether it will produce more than four or five millions a year (we assessed it to produce seven millions). You had also heard some discussions of the Land Tax project. I have no doubt that we shall carry it into effect, and that it will gradually become important as a measure of finance. I enclose the last amended copy of the resolutions.

With respect to the small consideration of offices and general politics, I do not recollect that

anything has occurred since your departure, except the arrangement which sent me to the Post Office in consequence of putting Lord Westmorland to the Privy Seal, and Lord Chesterfield to the Mastership of the Horse. The Duke of Dorset continues entirely without understudies, and must, I suppose, at last be removed. The Cabinet, so far as I can learn, acts together "at present" with sufficient cheerfulness and cordiality. Mr. Wickham,[1] as Under-Secretary of State, was a great addition to the Duke of Portland's office. That office has ample employment in watching the police of the country, the conspiring societies, and the Jacobin clubs.

I had the pleasure of seeing Lady Mornington in good health yesterday; she was at the balcony with all the children when we drove through Park Lane this morning (Friday), and to-day your son Richard has dined with us, and passed the evening with my two Etonians.

Lady Auckland and my daughter desire to be most kindly mentioned to you.

I have now written one complete hour and a half by candlelight. Neither my eyes nor my fingers are equal to the writing more, though subjects in abundance present themselves. I have some fear that my scrawl, which has been rapid, will be nearly illegible, but I will not abuse it; you must decipher it if so disposed.

I understood from Lady Mornington that *The*

[1] William Wickham (1761-1840), Under Secretary for the Home Department, 1798-1802; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1802-1804.

WILLIAM EDEN, 1ST BARON AUCKLAND
From an engraving

Anti-Jacobin is regularly forwarded to you. It is very good, and *vires acquirit eundo*. The sale is now not less than 2,300 a week.

P.S. My circular letter has not been unproductive. I am enabled to give some weight and value to my packet by the enclosed letters from Mr. Pitt, the Speaker, Lord Carrington, and Mr. Gerald Wellesley. I understood, too, from your son Richard, that in addition to Lady Mornington's journal you will have missives from all the children, and three pages on long paper from him. Such arrivals at such a distance must be a great luxury.

I hope to find means to write again in about a month. Europe seems to be at its crisis. I have given to you vaguely and generally my reasons for thinking that the *dénouement* of this long and tragical drama will not be unfavourable. Still, we must expect in any event to be subject to agitations, and to the big rolling of the waves after the most severe hurricane that the moral world has ever undergone.

So once more with all possible good wishes I heartily bid you farewell.[1]

LORD AUCKLAND *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Eden Farm: July 19, 1798

I write a few lines on the small and thin paper to which I am restricted, and with doubts at the same time whether Lady Mornington will have it in her power to forward my letter by one of the overland conveyances. At present I shall touch

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 132.

superficially on all the great points which most interest you. I understand that Lady Mornington and your children are all in perfect health. I have recently seen Lady Mornington, Dowager, and Lady Anne, and your brother Gerald, and Mr. Pole is in Ireland serving with great energy and distinguished credit. The King is in the most perfect health. Mr. Pitt has been much indisposed, and I was discouraged from writing to you in the latter end of May, for really at that period I thought him in a most precarious state of health. I saw more of him, I believe, than anybody. I also saw his physician, Sir William Farquhar, who is accustomed to talk in confidence with me ; and in short I saw and heard more than enough to give me very serious alarm for him. His powers of digestion were gone ; he had a sort of habitual sickness and retching, and a loss of appetite. Fortunately he felt fully the critical nature of his own situation. Farquhar found him very tractable. He retired from Parliamentary business, fixed himself to frequent light and regular nourishment, avoided all bustle, and by degrees is so much recovered, Sir William now looks with confidence to his being soon in better health than he ever had. I have dwelt on this point as being most essential both to your personal affections and to your public anxieties.

Next as to this good old island. Her loyalty, steadiness, and general energy are even greater and more conspicuous than at the period of your departure. The session was the most remarkable for great, difficult, and important measures that I

ever remember. The commerce and revenue are more flourishing. The latter, for the quarter-credit the fifth of this month, was £5,380,000 and the services were £5,390,000.

I wish I could speak in the same way of Ireland. I can only say that though the scenes of desolation there have been terrible, the rebellion may be considered as subdued. It is, however, only put down by force. Ruffianism, ferocity, and Jacobinism in all its worst forms are still prevalent, though kept down; and what we are to do, or what we can do, that will do good, I really cannot say, but the subject is occupying much serious attention.

The French Republic is as wicked as ever, though not quite so bloody. There is no apparent prospect of pacification; on the contrary, the Directoire is revolutionising everywhere, and if Buonaparte's expedition [to Egypt] has not been marred by Nelson (which we hope every day to hear) he is before this time on his road from Alexandria to Suez, and hopes at last to return your compliments at Calcutta. You will see in No. 34 of *The Anti-Jacobin* a most excellent letter from him in ridicule of his wild expedition. It was written by Lord Frederick Eden (as were some others of the best papers), and we are all rendering full justice to Lord Frederick's talents.[1]

LORD AUCKLAND *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Eden Farm: August 8, 1798

According to the last accounts from Germany,

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 154.

the conferences at Rastadt were entirely broken off, the French agents were gone back to Paris, and the Comte de Courzel to Vienna ; and it was supposed that the latter would be sent immediately to his old station at Petersburg, leaving Metternich in the repossession of the Austrian Government. The ostensible cause of the Rastadt separation was the refusal of the Court of Vienna to give any satisfaction for the pretended insult to Bernadotte,[1] but it is understood to be the policy of both parties, on adverse reasonings, to suspend the pacification without renewing the war. In the meantime the Austrian armies are forming into great strength, and a negotiation is going forward between the Emperor and the King of Prussia towards establishing a concert against France, but the wretched and selfish politics of Berlin still prevail to the detriment of everything. Still, however, the French are kept in an [active] state upon all the frontiers of Germany and also in Switzerland. In Piedmont they are paramount, and they are revolutionising Turin. The Emperor of Russia sequesters French property and shipping, and has furnished us with a squadron which is of some utility towards our system of European blockade ; but in other respects he does nothing towards the common cause, and the Courts of Denmark and Stockholm continue in a state of nullity. The North American States are as nearly as may be in a state of hostility with the French Republic, and have passed some very dignified and vigorous resolutions, and their

[1] Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte (1764-1844), afterwards Charles XIV. of Sweden.

communications with us are very friendly. Spain remains blockaded, and Portugal in her helpless way is steady.

Our naval history is more brilliant than ever. The blockade of the whole of the opposite coasts from Hamburg to Gibraltar is kept up; when any small vessel of the enemy puts out to sea it is soon taken. Our mercantile shipping suffers no losses. All our fleets arrive in full safety, and both the commercial and internal prosperity are greater than ever, and the revenue is this year very high.

I do not know what to say with regard to France. The Directoire has not given the smallest intimation of a desire to talk about peace with us. The temper of the war is less furious than it was, and they have behaved with humanity to the officers and men made prisoners in the affair of Ostend.[1] All pretences to invade us are discontinued, and in the meantime this country is multiplying volunteer corps, fencibles, gun boats, etc., etc. At this moment we are waiting with extreme impatience for news from the Mediterranean; we know nothing with certainty except that Nelson's squadron arrived off Malta about three days after Buonaparte's force had sailed easterly, and Nelson pursued, with a fleet fully competent to a victory, if he can find the enemy. We have no knowledge of the French destination, or of the object of their

[1] In May, on hearing that transports for bringing French troops to England were to be sent by canal from Flushing to Ostend, a British force of 1,200 men was sent to destroy the Bruges canal. This work was carried out successfully, but the invaders were taken prisoners.

measures. The various conjectures are well known to you, and few of them appear to me to have sense or probability to support them.

In the meantime we have been undisturbed in the exertions which became necessary for subduing the Irish revolt, and certainly it may be considered as subdued. But something more must be done towards rendering that country a benefit and not a burthen to us; and yet it is infinitely difficult to say what can be done or ought to be done, as the hatred between the Protestants and Papists is far more inveterate than ever. Lady Mornington will have forwarded to you Dr. Duigenan's letter to Grattan[1]: pray read it. The former shaves with a rough razor, but he shaves close, and Grattan has suffered under the operation to a degree that he will never recover. You will see in the newspapers that Lord Cornwallis and Lord Clare are disagreeing, but I have reason to believe that there is no truth in the report; on the contrary, that they are acting together most cordially.

Mr. Pitt has gone to Walmer for three weeks. He has regained in some measure his health and strength, but his constitution is very delicate, and will require continued care. I do not believe that he will ever again be able to bear the fatigues of repeated and long debates. In other respects I am able to assure you that he is in excellent spirits, for I see much of him at Holwood.

[1] A scurrilous attack on Grattan's whole life and policy that was extremely popular at the time. *See* Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, viii. 256.

A curious incident is occurring in Ireland and will soon, I hope, be ripe enough to become public. The O'Connors and others, in order to save their lives, have acknowledged their guilt and have offered to make great discoveries. If these discoveries do not fall short of our expectations, we shall have excellent matter towards overbearing the honourable and right honourable gentlemen who declared at the Maidstone trials that they had the same principles as the O'Connors.[1]

Our measure for the [illegible] of the land tax will be put immediately into execution, and I have now no doubt that it will have effects even beyond our best and most sanguine speculations when we brought it forward. In the result it will prove a cordial to the public credit, by multiplying the purchasers of stock which will not burst into the market. Mr. Pitt is forward in his preparations for the next year's supplies, and I am confident that we can raise them on terms even better than last year; provided only that we have no great and unforeseen calamity in the interval.[2]

LORD HOBART *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

August 10, 1798

Having this moment been apprised of an opportunity of writing to India, the first since my return to England, I avail myself of it to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of March, July, and September, 1797—not having them with

[1] *See* note, p. 54.
[2] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 158.

me, I may be mistaken in the dates—and for the packets you left for me with Lord Macartney and Governor Brooke. Were I to admit that I agreed in that part of your reasoning which might have been intended to satisfy me that my recall from India was necessary to the public service, I should not act by you with that sincerity which has ever actuated my conduct towards you.

With respect to the points of difference that may exist between us upon the measures of my government, as you have not stated them I can only say that if you had informed me of your sentiments I should have adopted them, if I had been convinced by your arguments, and should most cordially have thanked you for the communication.

The real reason of its having been deemed expedient that I should not go to the supreme Government is yet unknown to me.

In August 1796, long after Mr. Dundas was acquainted with my differing with the Nabob and Sir John Shore, he urged me in the most pressing manner, for my own sake and that of the public service, to remain in India. On the 13th of March 1797 he expressly stated that my differences with the Nabob, the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Governor-General made it expedient to withdraw me from India.

On the 22nd of the same month he reappointed me to succeed to the Supreme Government after Lord Cornwallis' sailing for Europe. On the 13th of the following May he received my answer to his letter of August 1796, assuring him of my continuance in India whether Sir John Shore

determined to remain or not. In September he annulled Sir John Shore's appointment and superseded mine, and about the same time declared the usurpation of Ameer Sing, the Rajah of Tanjore, ordering Sarboji, with whom I certainly had no difference, to be placed on the [throne] as the rightful heir.

The candour with which you have written to me has called upon me to state these facts, but I shall make no comment upon them, and shall only add that I think I have ample reason to be highly dissatisfied with the whole arrangement, and unless you wish it shall never more enter upon the subject.

It may be proper that you should know that Mr. Dundas had pledged himself to my friends that I should have a pension of £2,000 per annum, but his influence, which in other instances had so much operated to my disadvantage, could only procure £1,500.

The resolution for the grant which I enclose, and which I presume was settled with him, was as unhandsome by me as his whole conduct has been inexplicable. I shall now resume the same style of correspondence with you as if nothing had happened to obstruct it, and its continuance will, I expect, depend upon yourself. You will be glad to hear that, my opinion perfectly corresponding with your advice, I met Mr. Pitt with the same cordiality that I should have done had everything been as satisfactory as it was otherwise with respect to India.

Indeed, without exactly the same feelings, I did not express a word of grievance to Mr. Dundas,

though I fear I shall be under the necessity of complaining of his aggravating his own adherence to his engagement with regard to the pension by the unhandsome manner of wording the resolution.

I have letters from Ireland which give me strong ground to believe that the rebellion has been completely quelled, and my own opinion is that the country will get into a state of real tranquillity much sooner than is expected.

Some clamour has arisen upon the subject of an amnesty proclaimed by Lord Cornwallis upon certain conditions—those who disapprove of it considering it to be a premature act of severity that will tend only to smother a flame which will soon break out again with redoubled violence; but I hope those who adopt this reasoning are mistaken, because I know that Lord Clare, and Lord Kilwarden (late Wolfe),[1] besides others of less consequence, entirely agree in the wisdom of the measure.

In a few days I propose setting out for Ireland to qualify for the office in the Exchequer that has devolved upon me by Lord Clonmell's[2] death. It will suffer in its receipts by the late troubles, but, I should conceive, will produce enough to make me comfortable in my circumstances.

Peace is not even talked of and we are all anxiety for news from the Mediterranean, where it is hoped Nelson will fall in with Buonaparte and

[1] Arthur Wolfe, first Baron Kilwarden (1739-1803), Lord Chief Justice of Ireland from 1798. He was created Viscount; 1800.

[2] John Scott, Earl of Clonmell (1739-1798), Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland from 1784.

stop his expedition—which, whether intended against Egypt for the purpose of establishing himself there, against Constantinople, Poland, or India, by Suez, the Euphrates, or the Black Sea, is now matter entirely of speculation, but the prevailing opinion is India.

I had the pleasure of seeing Lady Mornington not many days ago, looking very well, and of hearing from her that my godson was in good health.[1]

THE HON. WILLIAM WELLESLEY-POLE *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

August 24, 1798

From the first of June, the day on which I closed No. 4, to this moment I have been so thoroughly employed in the rebellion in Ireland that it has not been possible for me to think of writing to you. I have just returned from my campaign, having left Ireland, I hope and believe, in a state of quiet which promises fair to give security once more to the lives and properties of its inhabitants. The history of the progress and suppression of the rebellion you will naturally find regularly detailed in the public accounts, which you, of course, see, and you will also have better information on that subject from Ministers than I can pretend to give; but nevertheless, you will expect, of course, to hear something from me relative to a business in which I have been so much engaged and am so deeply interested.

When I arrived in Dublin, where I landed on

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 162.

the 4th of June, I found every man in the city a soldier, the Courts of Law shut, and all matters of trade at an end, the castle barricaded with guns, and lighted matches at the gates, and expresses every moment arriving with accounts of the rebels and the army. I found the communication between the Cork and Limerick roads and Dublin had been stopped by the rebels for several days and was just opened, and matters seemed to wear a serious aspect. Wexford, I own, and most of the county were in the possession of the rebels, and also the greatest part of the county of Wicklow; little known of the county of Kildare, excepting that a large body of rebels who had been allowed to disperse by General Dundas now supposed to have again taken arms. The Parliament outrageous against General Dundas, and prevented with great difficulty from impeaching him; and an account just arrived of the death and defeat of Colonel Walpole (Lambert Walpole), who had been sent upon a favourite separate command in the county of Wexford, and, by his own misconduct, lost his life, his guns (two field pieces), and had 400 men defeated with great slaughter. Lord Edward Fitzgerald died in prison on the 3rd of June of a fever and inflammation, brought on, I believe, partly by his wounds and partly by vexation, and the rebels were 30,000 strong at least in the county of Wexford. I pushed for my own county as soon as I could and joined my corps of Yeomen on the 5th, who were doing duty at Mountmellick. I found the Queen's County in a very alarming state. It was known

that 11,500 there had been sworn U[nited] I[rish] in it, and by flogging, etc., such information had been gained as to enable the officers and magistrates of the county to get possession of many of the captains, and to break in upon their organisation; but the spirit of insurrection and treason appeared manifestly through the whole county, and it was evident that the people only waited for orders from the rebel chiefs, and a fair opportunity, to rise with the same views as their brethren in the county of Wexford had done. Thank God! by activity and perseverance we have prevented them from effecting their purpose; and at the moment I am writing there is scarce an acre in the Queen's County or a house in it which has not suffered by the depredations either of rebels or the King's soldiers, and almost all the leaders have been hanged or transported.

Lord Camden took every means in his power to suppress the rebellion. He found, I believe, two main obstacles to effecting it either as speedily or as happily as he could have wished. His generals were for the most part incapable, and his counsellors were so violent that nothing short of extermination would satisfy them. Add to this the undisciplined state of his army, which was so split into divisions that no regiment had the fair advantage of being together under its own commanding officer, and the inadequacy of his numbers to resist at once such a torrent as poured in on all sides towards Dublin, and at the same time check the disposition to rise which manifests itself all over Ireland. Lord Camden

felt the difficulties he had to encounter, and, I believe, begged quite as hard to be relieved by Lord Cornwallis as he did for troops from England to save the country.

The rebels in Wexford very fortunately chose to post themselves on a place called Vinegar Hill, near the town of Wexford, in preference to travelling through the county and overrunning all the south of Ireland, as they undoubtedly might have done; or of marching immediately after Walpole's defeat to Dublin, which, with the assistance of their Dublin, Meath, and Kildare friends, it is supposed they must have carried. They formed an entrenched camp of about 3,000 men, and had the complaisance to wait about a fortnight before they were attacked. An attack was at last made upon them, commanded by General Lake,[1] but most completely bungled, by some mistake either of Lake's or Needham's.[2] Needham's column was not at the place intended for an hour after the appointed time; Lake would not wait for him, and the consequence was that one avenue to the hill, and that the most material towards the town of Wexford, was left open, and through this the rebels fled, and they were not pursued. The generals, of whom twelve were

[1] General Gerard Lake (1744-1808), Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Ireland from April 25 until June 20, 1798. In 1800 he went to India as Commander-in-Chief. He was raised to the peerage in 1804, and created Viscount Lake of Delhi in 1807.

[2] Captain Francis Jack Needham (1748-1832), who greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Arklow, 1798. He succeeded as (twelfth) Viscount Kilmorey in 1818, and four years later was created Earl of Kilmorey.

on the ground at Vinegar Hill, I am told, were amusing themselves after the action with shaking hands upon the hill and congratulating each other on the victory, and they did not think a pursuit necessary, as they conceived themselves sure of the rebels in the town of Wexford next morning. However, they were a little out of their calculations here. General Moore,[1] who is an excellent officer, gallantly pushed into Wexford early in the morning, but those rebels who were in it ran out at one end of the town as he entered at the other ; the rest of the rebel army had more sense than to go into Wexford from Vinegar Hill. Finding they were not pursued some of them dispersed, and two columns marched with great expedition and judgment, one of some thousands, into the county of Wicklow towards Hackets-town and Blessington, which they burnt; and the other, consisting at its first setting out of 10,000 men and ten pieces of cannon, through Sculloge Gap into the county of Carlow bound for the Queen's County. They were not followed, and the consequences, at least of the last column, come very near being fatal to the south of Ireland, as you see by a narrative I enclose, which will *illustrate* the ability and spirit *of our general.* At the same time it will give some idea of what would have happened to the Queen's County,

[1] General John Moore, being invalided home from the West Indies, joined Abercromby in Ireland in December 1798, and took an active part in suppressing the Irish rebellion. He remained in Ireland until June 1799, when he was ordered to Holland. He was knighted in 1804, and was killed at Coruña, 1809.

Tipperary, etc., etc., had the rebels not been checked in their career.

Lord Cornwallis arrived just before the affair at Vinegar Hill, and about the same time the English Militia Regiments, who had offered their services, some Fencibles, and about 2,000 Guards, landed; these circumstances, and the amazing fatigue the rebels had undergone, and the immense losses of all kinds they had suffered, gave a new turn to affairs. After the action at Vinegar Hill, in which the rebels did not lose more than 600 or 700 men, most of the leaders, such as Bognall, Harvey, Keogh, Grogan, etc., etc., were taken at Wexford, in a sort of infatuation, neither keeping with their army nor making any resistance. At our action at Kilconnel Hill we took all their cannon, and killed about 1,400 of them; the rest of the column, which had been reduced before the action by one means or other from 10,000 to 6,000, dispersed or joined the Wicklow column, and they crossed the road between Naas and Johnstown, and marched into Meath, West Meath, and Louth. They were harassed beyond all example, having undergone every species of hardship that can be conceived. They had no covering; they had neither bread, salt, nor spirits, but lived upon the sheep and bullocks they plundered, eaten generally half raw, and dressed in such a savage manner that it was a common thing to see a bullock lying with his skin on, his entrails not removed, though half the carcass had been cut away and eaten. The people in the counties they marched into refused to join them,

as they saw the cause was desperate, and they were cut to pieces in detail, and all their leaders taken separately and executed. While this Wexford army was winding up in this manner, a man named Aylmer, who had a considerable force in the county of Kildare, offered to lay down his arms on terms, and in short the rebels everywhere grew weary of the business, and, despairing of fresh assistance, willingly accepted the offer of mercy which Lord Cornwallis most judiciously held out to them, and which bids fair, I think, to re-establish us in something like security. You who know the temper of Irish gentlemen, when they are carrying all before them, can easily conceive the sort of clamour there was at first against Lord Cornwallis' offer of pardon to such men as deserted their leaders and gave up their arms: they were for putting every leader to death, even every officer. In this horrible rebellion the King's troops never gave quarter to the rebels; hundreds and thousands of wretches were butchered while unarmed on their knees begging mercy, and it is difficult to say whether soldiers, Yeomen, or Militia-men took most delight in this bloody work. Numbers of innocent persons were also put to death. In the action I was concerned in, the rebels in their flight took shelter in the houses of the county as they found them, and the soldiers (with scarcely any exception) followed the wretches, and killed every man in the houses they went into—frequently the man of the house, who had taken no part in the dispute; nay, there were some cursed Germans under the command of

Count Humbert[1] who killed several women; and this they practised in almost every action during the rebellion. The number of the rebels and inhabitants killed by these means is, by the lowest calculation, computed at 23,000, and Lord Cornwallis wisely and justly felt that if he suffered the war to go on it could only end in the depopulation of the country. The success which attended the offer of pardon, and the unlooked-for rapidity with which tranquillity was restored, had made a very visible change in the opinions of the gentlemen of Dublin before I left it, and they are every day more and more satisfied that merciful policy is now the wisest. The measure which has met with the greatest opposition from the Beresfords and other violent men in Ireland, is the accepting an offer made by the State prisoners in Kilmainham and Newgate (near seventy in number) to transport themselves for life, and submit to its being felony without benefit of clergy for any of them to be ever found in the King's dominions hereafter; and, if this indulgence was granted them, they promised to give complete information of the whole plot. This was proposed by them to save them from the risks of trials.

The trials of the Sheares, Byrne, McCann and Bond,[2] all of whom had been found guilty and

[1] J. J. Amable Humbert, French General, who landed with a body of French troops in Ireland in August 1798. He was attacked by Lake and Cornwallis on September 9 at Ballinamuck, when he and his men were captured.

[2] Henry and John Sheares, Michael Byrne, and McCann, prominent United Irishmen, were tried for sedition, and hanged. Oliver Bond died in prison.

condemned to die without hesitation, and all of whom, except Bond, have suffered, struck such a damp on the traitors in the jails, that they, one and all, with the exception of one or two old, obscure men, were eager to save their lives by acknowledging their guilt and offering to give information of the state of the plot; and Lord Cornwallis has permitted them to do so, by which he has certainly rendered an essential service to the country. Had he tried all these people it is by no means certain they could every one have been convicted, and supposing they had all been hanged, it would not have had half the salutary effect that a complete development of the plot must have.

Lord Cornwallis assured me that he should be able, by saving the lives of Bond and the other prisoners, to show the whole world the guilt of the conspirators. His expression was "The most impudent dog in England who may wish to hold up any of these people will be forced to admit their guilt," and he also thinks it certain that the whole connection between the Irish rebels and the Irish Government will be exposed in such a manner as to render it impossible it should not be entirely broken through from this time forward. All these things are not yet finally settled; the secret committees of both Houses of the Irish Parliament are now sitting, and their reports will be the first official communication to the world on the subject.

In the meantime, tranquillity is effectually restored through the whole of Ireland. The Yeomen are put off permanent duty, by which

an expense of £60,000 a week is saved to Government. Some English regiments who were on the point of coming over have been stopped. The harvest is getting in by the peasantry, who have returned to their occupations, and Lord Cornwallis has begun his endeavours to organise the army, which is in so wretched a state that he told me he was of opinion the loyal inhabitants of Ireland would have had as much to fear from the King's forces as from the rebels, had the rebellion gone on six weeks longer. There never was such a scene of indiscriminate rapine and plunder, and so insufficient and expensive a staff. What think you of forty-seven general officers in the Irish establishment ?—Needhams, Eustaces, Argyles, Meyricks, etc., etc. Lord Cornwallis, I fancy, in a quiet way means to get rid of some of these worthies. There is not the least foundation in the report that Lord Cornwallis and the Chancellor have differed in opinion about the measures necessary to extinguish the rebellion. Lord Cornwallis told me they never had had a single disagreement, and he begged of me to say so if I heard the matter talked of in England. He added that the Chancellor was one of the wisest and best men he had ever met with ; that he was the best and truest friend of the connection between England and Ireland that could be ; that people who thought him violent or sanguinary in his councils were much mistaken ; that nobody could be more humane or temperate ; and that every part of the measures of pardon had met with his most hearty concurrence and approbation.

There is no person belonging to Ireland who has made so contemptible a figure during the rebellion as Mr. Grattan. He is, as you know, out of Parliament, and he has been living all the summer in retirement at Llanrwst in Wales.[1]

LORD HAWKESBURY[2] *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Walmer: September 23, 1798

I am quite ashamed of myself for having delayed so long writing to you, but I concluded you would learn what was passing here much better from others, and the constant state of anxiety in which I own my mind is kept by the events that are daily occurring is apt to make me put off many duties in a way which may appear unpardonable to those who do not feel as strongly as myself on the present state of the world.

I congratulate you most sincerely on the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland. It is impossible to praise too much the vigour and prudence of the Irish Government; the confessions of O'Connor and his associates are a complete justification of all that the supporters of Government in both countries have been saying and doing for the last six years; but it is singular that we should have it in the handwriting of these very

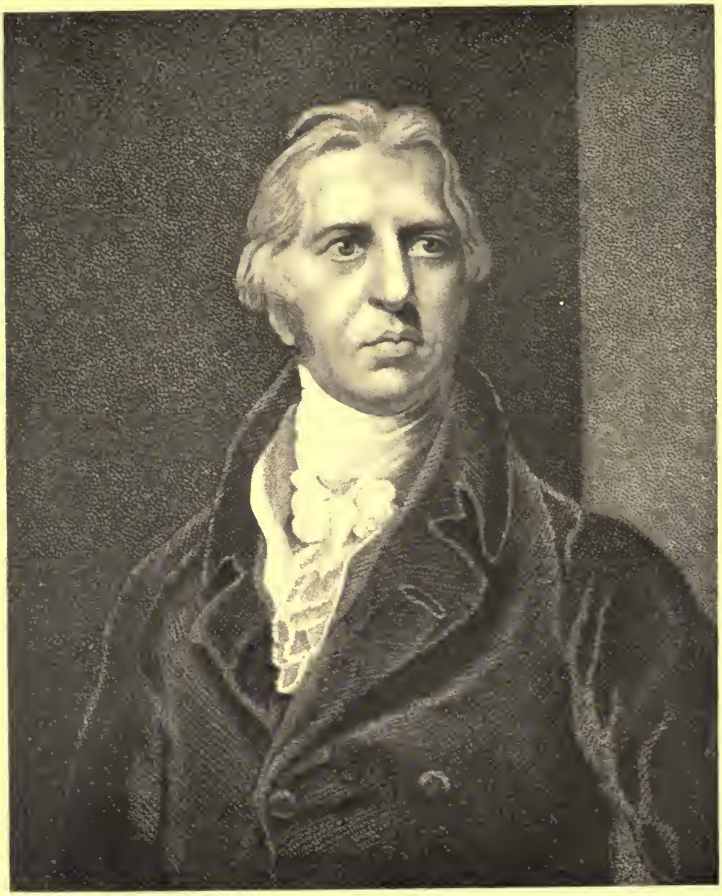
[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 167.

[2] Robert Banks Jenkinson (1770-1828), known by the courtesy title of Lord Hawkesbury from 1796, when his father was created Earl of Liverpool, was appointed by Pitt a member of the India Board. He became Master of the Mint in 1799. He was Foreign Secretary, 1801-1803, and in the latter year was created Baron Hawkesbury. He succeeded his father as (second) Earl of Liverpool in 1808. He held many high offices, and was Prime Minister, 1812-1827.

persons that in *their opinion* the people of Ireland care not a jot for Parliamentary reform or Catholic Emancipation, and that the object of the conspirators has long been to create Ireland into a democratic republic independent of Great Britain. If ever there was a moment to attempt a union it is certainly the present, and measures are taking for that purpose. There are many prejudices certainly to be conquered, but I do not despair of getting the better of them. I have seen the outline of Pitt's plan, in every part of which I entirely agree with him. He proposes to give Ireland one hundred members in the House of Commons and thirty in the House of Lords; to give the Catholics (if possible) the little that remains to be given them to establish an equality of trade in all respects between the two countries, and to find some substitute for tithes on potatoes, as I believe it the greatest practical grievance in the country.

The Irish Chancellor is to come over here immediately. I understood his opinion is decidedly in favour of a union. There are doubts about the Speaker, but he must be convinced, as he certainly is the most important person in that country.

You will have heard about Buonaparte's expedition. It is entirely to be regretted that Nelson should have been so unfortunate as not to have met with him, though we do not know accurately what has happened since his arrival at Alicante. It is certain that he has met with considerable resistance from the Arabs, and as we have the command of the Mediterranean and the



Wivell, delt. *J. Thompson, sculpt.*

ROBERT BANKS JENKINSON, 2ND EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

Turks and Russians are making vigorous preparations for war, I have no doubt he will have cause to repent of his rashness. We have just seen in the Paris papers an account of an action between Nelson and the French fleet on its return from Alexandria, by which it appears that we have gained a most decided victory [the Battle of the Nile]; the account is in the *Rédacteur*, which, you know, is the official paper, and it states the intelligence as certain. We wait most anxiously for the confirmation. There is every reason to believe that war will recommence on the continent. The great Powers, at least some of them, begin to perceive that nothing else can save them from destruction. God grant that their eyes may be open to all their past errors, and that, laying aside their mutual animosities and jealousies, they may unite cordially, effectually, and honestly in resisting the common enemy of the human race.

I was happy to see Lady Mornington in good health before I left town to join my regiment. I had the pleasure of seeing your eldest son when he was at home, and was glad to find he was making so much progress in his education. Lady Hawkesbury desires her best compliments to you.

P.S. I hope to hear that the climate of Calcutta agrees with you.[1]

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* LORD GRENVILLE

Fort William: November 18, 1798

My health has been much better on the whole

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 185.

since I have been here than I ever remember it to have been for so long a period in Europe. This I attribute to the great regularity of my life, and to the continual exertion of my mind, relieved by the great variety of the business of this vast empire. There is also something to be attributed to the constant sense of good intentions, accompanied by very large powers of putting them into execution. To these considerations I think I may add the complete success of whatever I have attempted, and the prospect of the approbation and applause of every man at home who understands the interests of India, and is attached to those of Great Britain. Lastly, although my household is magnificent, and my table open to every respectable person in the settlement, and to all newcomers, I find my savings far greater than I expected. Under these circumstances I think it not impossible that your dream of Clifden may be realised ; it so happens that it is a favourite castle in the air of my own. You will observe that our joint castle of governing the world is no longer a baseless fabric ; and when you have read the papers annexed to this, you will perhaps not think me a *sleeping partner* of your throne.

But all this vision will vanish unless you send Lady Mornington out to me by the next ship. There is now no objection to her appearance, as my authority and character are perfectly established ; and I believe you know enough of her character to be satisfied that no part of her conduct will ever be injurious to me. Her society here is absolutely necessary to my comfort ; and,

without her, I fear, I shall not have fortitude to remain here long enough to accomplish all my grand financial, political, military, naval, commercial, architectural, judicial, political reforms, and to make up as large a treasure as Aboulcassem of Bassora's. All this might be effected within five or six years from the day of my embarcation at Cowes. But I leave you to judge of the necessity of her society while I give you some idea of my private life.

I rise early and go out before breakfast, which is always over between eight and nine. From that hour until four (in the hot weather) I remain at work, unless I go to Council, or to church of Sundays; at five I dine, and drive out in the evening. At present I drive out at five, and dine a little after six. No constitution here can bear the sun in the middle of the day at any season of the year, nor the labour of business in the evening. After dinner, therefore, nobody attempts to write or read, and, in general, it is thought necessary to avoid even meetings on subjects of business at that time; for in this climate good or ill health depends upon a minute attention to circumstances apparently the most trivial. Thus, in the evening I have no alternative but the society of my subjects, or solitude. The former is so vulgar, ignorant, rude, familiar, and stupid as to be disgusting and intolerable; especially the ladies, not one of whom, by-the-bye, is even decently good-looking. The greatest inconvenience, however, arises from the ill-bred familiarity of the general manners. . . . The effect of this state of

things on my conduct has been to compel me to entrench myself within forms and ceremonies, to introduce much state into the whole appearance of my establishments and household, to expel all approaches to familiarity, and to exercise my authority with a degree of vigour and strictness nearly amounting to severity. At the same time I endeavour, as much as is compatible with the duties imposed on me by the remissness of Sir John Shore, to render my table pleasant to those whom I admit to it, and to be easy of access to everybody. I am resolved to encounter the task of effecting a thorough reform in private manners here, without which the time is not distant when the Europeans settled at Calcutta will control the Government, if they do not overturn it. My temper and character are now perfectly understood, and while I remain, no man will venture *miscere vocem* who has not made up his mind to grapple instantly with the whole force of government. But it required some unpleasant efforts to place matters on this footing, and you must perceive that I am forced to fly to solitude for a large portion of the twenty-four hours, lest I should weaken my means of performing my public duty.[1]

THE HON. WILLIAM WELLESLEY-POLE *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Hanover Square: March 14, 1799

. . . . It is out of my power to describe what I think of the state of Ireland. In a former letter

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* iv. 381.

I gave you shortly my opinion about the Union, both as to the measure itself, and the manner in which it was likely to be received. I did not imagine it would have been prepared after the temper of the Irish had been shewn upon it, but I believe Mr. Pitt was deceived as to the numbers in Parliament by Lord Castlereagh. Ministry here talked openly of carrying the measure in the Irish House of Commons by a majority of fifty at least on the very day the account came of their defeat; and so little did Lord Castlereagh know of the temper of the House, that after the debate had lasted twenty hours, and he was walking out to divide, he clapped W. Skeffington on the shoulder (he thought Skeffington would vote with him), and said he should carry the division by forty-five. The measure now sleeps in Ireland, but Ministry here are so strongly prejudiced in favour of it that I believe they will dissolve the Parliament, and try it again the next session. The ferment caused by the agitation of the measure in Ireland, added to the strange misconduct of Lord Cornwallis' government, has brought the country into the most deplorable state. The rebels have been secretly working during the whole winter; all Ireland is more full of concealed arms than ever, and most of the counties in a complete state of organisation. The ruffians who are in jail under the treaty which Lord Cornwallis entered into with them have been allowed all kinds of access to each other, and it is believed that regular committees, etc., etc., have been constantly held in Kilmainham jail. O'Connor's letter to Lord

Castlereagh, which was published in Dublin just after one of the manuscript copies of it had been taken by him, is a masterpiece of treason and insolence; it has caused him to be put in close confinement, but it ought to have been the means of his immediate trial and execution. At length Lord Cornwallis has seen the situation to which his lenity has reduced the country, and an act is now passing which grants him as much power as ever Nero possessed. He is to be allowed to put any part of the kingdom he chooses under martial law, and when he does so the whole of the Civil Power is to be suspended. The necessity for this measure was so evident, that it met with scarcely any opposition—a pretty strong proof of the impolicy of the former lenity of the Government. A more severe censure could not be passed upon Lord Cornwallis' measures than this very Bill, and I hope it will open Mr. Pitt's eyes; and I am also sure that it is a strong additional argument against a union of the legislatures, for I would ask any candid man whether he thinks it possible for a united Parliament, sitting in Westminster, to have borne the idea of passing an act empowering the Lord-Lieutenant for the time being to put all Ireland under martial law at his pleasure. They never could do it, for this plain reason, that they are too remote from the danger to feel the necessity of so desperate a remedy; whereas the Parliament of Dublin, being actually on the spot, with the pikes at their throats, are nearly unanimous on the measure, as the only hope of saving themselves

from instant destruction. The Queen's County remains quite quiet, and if it continues so I shall not visit it till June. Lord Cornwallis, that he might leave no means untried to induce the rebels to continue their preparations, has issued a public order, which you will see in all the newspapers, desiring all his generals to call all commanding officers to their regiments, as it is now *certain* the French are fitting out a larger force than ever against Ireland. Here the rebels have the authority of the Castle for believing their friends the French are coming, and, accordingly, they will use every exertion to be ready to receive them. I could tell you a thousand stories of the impolitic and cruelly lenient measures of Lord Cornwallis; but I forbear, and I hope we shall still escape if the French do not make good a landing in Ireland.[1]

THE EARL BATHURST *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

April 20, 1799

I am very much obliged to you for your letter dated the 20th of November, particularly as it gave me so favourable an account of your health, which I find confirmed by all the letters which you have written by the last conveyance. I have not been much in London this year, and I delayed writing until I came to town, as the country does not afford good materials for a letter to the East Indies.

You are very good in thinking of showing your protection towards Mr. R. Bathurst, who, I hope, will answer the good opinion you entertain of him.

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 206.

Not having been for any time in town, your dispute with Mr. Webbe is new to me, and you forgot to enclose the list of papers to which you said in your letter you would refer me. But I must say the success which has attended the expedition to the Nizam is very highly spoken of here, both by the few who understand what they commend, and by the many who do not. It is certainly a fortunate thing for you to have begun your government with so much *éclat*. As to the transactions at home, the prospect is certainly flattering. The newspapers will inform you of the Austrian successes, which were not expected at the beginning, as it was to be supposed that the French were prepared better than they have proved to have been.

It seems to be believed that the whole army of France does not at present amount to more than 330,000 men, above 30,000 of which are with Buonaparte in Egypt, 100,000 in Italy, very much divided, another 100,000 compose the different armies under Jourdan's command on the Rhine, and the remainder are in the interior, consisting chiefly of the new-raised troops. This is the account which the late Minister of War gave in to the Directory on his quitting that situation for the command in Italy, where he has been just beaten.

Government are in great hopes of raising a Swiss force in Switzerland. It is thought by most that this project was adopted too late, when the spirit of that nation was broken, and the most active had perished; but the later successes in that part of the world will, it is to be hoped, be the means of collecting a good body of men.

Your letters from hence must long before this have informed you of all the circumstances respecting the proposed union with Ireland, its failure in the Irish House of Commons, the violence and popularity of the Irish Speaker, and his subsequent defeat. After that he has been endeavouring to explain his conduct as having been understood to have been more hostile than he intended; but having some reason to believe that the Government were determined to turn out his son, he has just now taken an opportunity of a Bill respecting the Regency to make a very violent attack. It is, however, generally believed that the idea of a union is much less unpopular in Ireland than it was, and that in autumn session it will be carried. You will, of course, have all the speeches sent you which have been published on the subject.

What think you of Sir George Yonge[1] being appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope? It seems to promise very ill. What is amusing in it is that Lord Macartney considers the appointment of such a successor as injurious to him. Lord

[1] George Macartney, first Earl Macartney (1736-1807), was appointed Governor of the Cape of Good Hope in May 1797, and resigned in November 1798. Lieutenant-General Sir Francis Dundas acted as Governor until the arrival of Sir George Yonge, fifth baronet (1731-1812). Yonge (or Young, as his name is sometimes spelt) gave great offence to the people by closing the public gardens at Cape Town and putting a tax on billiard-tables and on game licences. He also appointed his private secretary to be "wine-taster," and tried to grant lands against the terms of the capitulations. He was recalled by a despatch dated January 14, 1801, and ordered to give up the government to General Dundas and return at once.

Camelford has brought Sir George into Parliament. He could not before that go beyond the precincts of the palace for fear of being arrested. Lord Hawkesbury succeeds him in the Mint, with a fixed salary of £3,000. It was to have been only £2,500, and as such was offered to Steele and Ryder,[1] who both thought the difference not worth the trouble of changing. Lord Hawkesbury accepted it as such, and then old Liverpool showed him in every respect whatsoever it would be better to have it amount to £3,000 ; and so it ended favourably enough to the House of Hawkesbury. All this change you will see was made for Canning, who is gone to the India Board.

You will, of course, know from all quarters that Pitt's health is decidedly improved. He is recovering his strength in a way to make one look to a lasting improvement ; and with it his nerves, which were during the summer shattered in a more alarming manner than was generally known, are getting to be as good as ever. Lady Mornington tells me she sent you the first part, and is now sending you the second, of Buonaparte's intercepted letters. They are very popular here, but I believe you will agree with me in thinking that the style of the notes is not good, and that more is made of the discontent and geographical mistakes than the letters seem to call for. When a battalion

[1] Dudley Ryder (1762-1847), Paymaster of Forces and Vice-President of the Board of Trade, 1791, Treasurer of the Navy, 1801. He succeeded his father as (second) Baron Harrowby, 1803. He was Foreign Minister under Pitt, 1804, and held other high ministerial and diplomatic posts. He was created Earl of Harrowby, 1809.

of the Guards were quartered a year and a half ago at Winchester, I believe the letters of the officers, if they had been intercepted, would have expressed more strongly their discontent and not much less ignorance of the geography of Hampshire.

Your eldest boy is very much grown, and I hear great accounts of his quickness and application. I have spoken to Grenville on the subject of that part of your letter which relates to Lady Mornington. I think it was a very hard trial for you when you left her behind; and it was certainly very prudently done in not taking her with you. There are not certainly the same objections to her following you now you will have been some time settled there; and from what I hear, I think you will receive letters by this conveyance which will lead you to expect Lady Mornington next year at Fort William. If nothing should be settled before the ship which carries this letter sails, I will take care to suggest that you should not be kept in suspense a moment longer than is necessary. I was delighted to hear of your being so well by the gentleman (I have forgotten his name) who brought me your despatches. The success with which you have begun your government must contribute to your health. You will see that Lord Hobart succeeded, after one failure, in his pension. He has not succeeded as yet in getting a wife, Miss Saunders, the sister of the lady Dundas' son married, having declined. She had a good fortune.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 234.

William Wilberforce *to* The Earl of Mornington

Broomfield, Clapham Common
April 20, 1799

Were you ever unfortunate enough to have put yourself into the power of that " foul fiend " procrastination ? If so, you will not hesitate to compare its tyrannical hold to the firm grasp of that cow-like old fellow who bestrode poor Sindbad the Sailor in the *Arabian Nights*, and could not be shaken off by his utmost efforts. Again and again I have resolved to write to you and (let me fairly say it, for it is truth) to do justice to the interest I felt for you, which made you often present to my mind. " But I cannot, after so long a delay, send a short, shabby letterling. I have not now time to write a long one." So with this soliloquy ; it has ended in a memorandum ; and week has rolled on after week, till I really feel ashamed to take up my pen at all. But I am determined at length to break through this servile bondage, and instead of offering justifications, at least exceeding, and apologies (for really I could urge some pretty satisfactory ones), let me suppose myself forgiven. I seem to be making myself of more consequence in all this than in truth I am ; but yet I flatter myself, my dear Mornington, that at such a distance from your friends it will be acceptable to hear through many different channels how matters are going on. I will, therefore, having once begun, continue to write to you from time to time, and if my letters answer no other end, they will at least prove to

Russell, R.A., pinxt. *T. Blood, sculpt.*

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

you my wish to contribute towards lessening the unpleasant feelings of what, with all its honour and utility, is still a banishment to one who, like you, has left behind his dearest connections and habitual associates.

When I began what I have already written, I had no immediate prospect of sending it ; I was, therefore, the more easily induced to lay down my pen on the pressure of some urgent business, and I am ashamed to say how many weeks it has now reposed in my writing-box from the difficulty of prevailing on myself to finish a letter without any definite time or mode of conveying it to your hands. I am roused from this disgraceful, and really to me painful, lethargy, by hearing that an opportunity offers of writing to Calcutta. The charm is broken and (I dare not be too sanguine, but) I trust I shall never again be subject to its power. I say again that I feel in all this egotism I am making myself of too much consequence, but indeed, my dear Lord Mornington, I feel hurt, because I must have exhibited the appearance of neglect and unfriendly inattention. I hope you will forgive me, but I cannot become directly in good humour with myself. And now where shall I begin ?—" the world being all before me where to choose," etc. If you will assign to me any particular set of topics I will endeavour, in the best way I am able, to meet your wishes. But presuming that you are abundantly informed by others of all political matters, which are out of the cognisance of the public prints, I seem to myself to be likely to consume your time to no purpose,

and waste my own if I were to enter on any recitals of our political transactions. But from my *particular predicament*, I may have a different view of things from some of your most intelligent correspondents—those, I mean, who are most busied in the events of which they speak. I repeat it, therefore : prescribe to me, if you can, my task, and rely on me for the desire of executing it well, and, of course, for all that secrecy (I am sure I need not claim it in return) where such a free intercourse requires. Indeed, what we say of anyone to other friends we often like that he should not hear from a third person, though we should have been ready to tell it to himself directly. I do not recollect to have heard your sentiments concerning a union with Ireland, but from what I know of your faculties, as applied to all the circumstances and considerations which are the grounds of men's judgments on that great question, I have little doubt of your being friendly to the measure in general, though perhaps doubts might be entertained as to the time and mode in which it has come forward. I was myself too long doubtful, but more mature reflection rendered me decidedly favourable. It is held among our friends that the opposition to it in Ireland is wearing away. In what degree they may be right in this conjecture I cannot say with certainty, but somewhat must be allowed to the natural relaxation which follows in those who have carried their point. Perhaps if the measure were again to be brought forward there might be nearly the same force of activity in resisting it. I must say

that, considering the importance of the measure, I never remember one opposed so vehemently, as far as warmth and violence could go, with so little of definite argument and reasoning. Foster, I understand, is irritated in the extreme, and in truth our friend directed more of his artillery against Mr. Spaker than was to be wished. But I confess my strongest (not my only) objection, to this attack, was that it raised him into too great consequence, and, therefore, was likely to produce the very effect which has, in fact, followed (or rather to aggravate the force of it, for in a degree it would have otherwise existed), that, I mean, of elevating him into the hero of the party, and almost of investing him with the veneration and interest-exciting character of a martyr. Yet I see one practical good effect from publicly considering the opposition to the measure as *condensed* and substantiated in the person of *one* man, which is that he, from any cause, ceasing to be an opponent, the force of the hostility to the measure is probably broken for ever. But I did not intend to detain you on a subject on which you must have heard most copiously from many others, nor will I say anything on our last foreign intelligence, except congratulating you most cordially on its acceptable tenor. I saw a private letter wherein it was mentioned that in the Archduke's grand action with Jourdan, the army of the former, one of his wings being routed, was thrown into disorder; a panic seemed to be diffusing itself, and all in the road to ruin, when he formed two columns of Infantry, and

putting himself at their head, marched against the enemy, and broke through them like a wedge. You must remember Fox's story of the popular and unpopular French generals of the old *régime*, founded on a mere difference of person in the verb they used—the one being accustomed to address his men before a charge with "*Allons*," the other with "*Allez, mes enfants*." But I must not forget that I am writing to the Governor-General, who has no time to waste; and indeed I am in this respect a good deal in his situation, and I must send my letter to town that it may not be too late for the packet in which I have secured it a place. I will, therefore, only once more assure you, my dear Lord Mornington, that you will gratify me by pointing out any way whereby I can contribute in the smallest degree to your comfort or convenience. Do not trouble yourself to write to me when it may not be convenient. I will from time to time send you a sheet full of my scrawl, which you may run over at any moment of leisure. I ought not, however, to conclude without mentioning one circumstance in which it is in my power to give you solid pleasure. I really think Pitt's health extremely improved within the last few months. He *was* worse than we, any of us, could almost persuade ourselves to think him, but the amendment is, I trust, unquestionable, and the alteration of his habits (you know how determined he is when he is really in earnest) holds out a comfortable and encouraging prospect for the future; yet, *with my views*, I cannot look on *him*, neither direct my eye

forward to the future in general, without *fearful apprehensions*.

Let me also add that I have heard (I need not say I heard with real satisfaction) from persons quite unconnected with you, but possessing the means of information, high encomiums passed on the vigour of your outset, and indeed on some other particulars of your conduct, both here before you went and in Bengal. May it please God to crown with success your counsels and undertakings, and render you thus a fresh exhibition and illustration of that phenomenon, never known to the world till the period of the British Constitution, of an immense kingdom at the distance of half the globe, governed with a disinterested regard for the happiness of the subjects, and, though in a quarter of the world where slavery seemed to be fixed in unassailable security, yet ruled over with a firmness and a moderation and an enlarged and benignant policy which imparts to the bulk of the people more than they ever before tasted of the blessings of rational and practical liberty. I assure you that at this moment I can contemplate with a mixture of astonishment and pleasure the image my mind has conjured up, and if you will place yourself in idea 3,000 or 4,000 miles from the scene in which you are acting, you too will be no less struck with it. But I will detain you no longer. Only let me again wish you all you can wish for yourself.[1]

Napoleon with a large fleet and 40,000 troops

[1] Add MSS. 37308 f. 228.

set out in May 1798, with the intention of conquering Egypt. *En route* he took Malta, and on July 21 defeated the Mamelukes at the Battle of the Pyramids, and Lower Egypt became his; but Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile changed the aspect of the campaign. Napoleon's triumphal progress was stopped at Acre, which was defended by Djezzar Pacha, until Sir Sidney Smith arrived and took command. He resisted twelve attempts to take the place between March 16 and May 20, 1799, when Napoleon retreated. These reverses, coupled with the necessity for his presence at home, caused him secretly to embark for France, leaving his army in the command of General Kléber.

Sylvester Douglas[1] *to* The Earl of Mornington

Pheasantry: July 29, 1799

I wrote to you by an overland packet which left London about ten days ago, and then proposed by an early opportunity to trouble you again at more length. A variety of occupations will make that, however, impossible on the present occasion, which I regret, because you will probably be still too much engaged when this arrives to have much spare time for perusing previous letters. You will have observed that the good fortune of Great Britain and of Mr. Pitt brought us the news of

[1] Sylvester Douglas (1743-1823), first Baron Glenbervie; was a member of the Board of Control.

the defeat of Macdonald on the Trebbia,[1] which is, in truth, the annihilation of the French in Italy, the day before the closing of the session. Since then we have learned that Buonaparte has been totally overthrown before Acre and there is every reason to suppose that he is by this time either a prisoner with Sir S. Smith, or put to death by the Turks. This will have ended that extravagant and absurd expedition, extravagant and absurd, although it seems to have been the result of plans, enquiries, and deliberation collected and formed during a long course of years both by the old and the late Governments of France.

We have never been so apt as the French to mistake what is in reality only gigantic and wild, for magnanimous and achievable. *Ut pueris placeant et declamatio fiat* might, I believe, with great truth have been conjectured to be the principal motives of Buonaparte and his band of heroes and philosophers when they embarked; but their enterprise will now scarcely be rewarded with that sort of fame. The new revolution at Paris has produced a chaos of accusation, reproach, and recrimination among the ex-directors and ex-ministers, in which nobody is sorry to see my old acquaintance, the apostate Talleyrand, taking a chief share. In short, the prospect of entirely crushing the revolutionary monster has never been so fair. The French are [no] better than driven home from Italy; they are pushed to the left banks of the Rhine from the Grisons to Strasburg. The

[1] Suvôroff inflicted a crushing defeat on Macdonald on the Trebbia on June 19.

secret expedition now ready will probably force them back through Holland and Flanders within their northern frontier. At home they are all anarchy, bankruptcy, discontent, and dismay, and Lord St. Vincent or Lord Meath is at this moment in pursuit, or, as we hope, has by this time overtaken and defeated the best French fleet which will probably for many years venture to navigate the ocean in a hostile manner.

It would require a more than common store of moderation and sobriety of temper not to give way to sanguine hopes and feelings on such a state of things. Still, however, we are in the power of fortune. The combined fleets may have outrun the British squadron; they may escape to Cadiz, Ferrol, or Brest; they may even reach Ireland, and by landing a large army, which they are said to have on board, rekindle the rebellion in that country. Such an event might stop the expedition to the Continent, or disappoint its success. This is all possible, but far less to be apprehended than the use the continental part of the present coalition may make of their successes. All coalitions are composed of elements in their nature discordant, and we have too much knowledge of the selfish and blind policy which has hitherto guided the counsels of some of the members of the present Grand Alliance, not to tremble a little amidst our hopes that their own experience and the commanding genius of this nation and Government may compel them to act on those many principles which will alone make them and us to reap and secure the fruits of so much blood, treasure, and

victory. It seems of the first importance, in this state of things, that we should have able men abroad, especially with those Governments whose politics are now of more importance than their armies ; and this, one is happy to think, is being much the case. Whether it is Sir C. Whitworth [1] or any other agent who influences the Court of Petersburg, nothing can be so right as the spirited and cordial co-operation there. Mr. Grenville's sense and prudence will no doubt make as much of the strange and mysterious Cabinet of Berlin as sense and prudence in conjunction with the dictates of their own true interest and their honour can. Wickham has proved himself a judicious and conciliating Minister, and is returned to Switzerland, and I have great hopes from Lord Minto [2] at Vienna, because I know him to be a man of the most cultivated and refined understanding, of calm and sedate manners, of the soundest principles and the strictest honour. I own his appointment has given me much pleasure, added to the anxiety of an old and disinterested friendship and intimacy of above thirty years. It is a natural and I trust a liberal and pure sentiment which renders the interest you feel in these great public transactions, in which the happiness and glory of one's country are involved, more lively

[1] Sir Charles Whitworth (1752-1825), Envoy-Extraordinary to the Court of St. Petersburg, 1789-1800. Created Baron, 1800, Viscount, 1813, and Earl Whitworth, 1815.

[2] Sir Gilbert Elliot (1751-1814), created Baron Minto of Minto, 1798, was Minister-Plenipotentiary at Vienna, 1799. He became President of the Board of Control, 1806, and held the office of Governor-General of India from 1807 until 1813. He was promoted Earl of Minto, 1813.

and pregnant when connected with the reputation and fortunes of a private friend. There is certainly, besides personal ambition, an ambition for one's country, and a third sort which holds a middle place, as ambition for one's friend. I have little right and less opportunity or prospect of gratifying the first ; I hope I possess the second as strongly as becomes a person who has the happiness of being born and living under this constitution, and I own I like to indulge the last. I have known my friend Lord Minto's genius, I have known his statesmanlike acquirements and turn of mind ; so have several other better judges. But circumstances long prevented those qualities from emerging out of private life, and society is never quite sure, before trial, whether partiality or affection may not exaggerate the talents and overlook some latent defects belonging to those of whom we have conceived a high opinion. I am not sure, my dear Lord, whether I have had the good fortune to be long enough or sufficiently intimate with you to justify me in troubling you with those effusions of my private affections, but if they are natural and liberal, as I feel them to be, I think you will see them with indulgence and pardon this trespass upon your time. Since our acquaintance commenced I have experienced sufficient kindness from you to encourage that sort of indiscretion, and I have the good fortune to be connected with a family whose early impressions of friendship with you remain uneffaced and whose frequent and affectionate recollection of you almost persuade me to believe myself a much older and more intimate

acquaintance of yours than my own knowledge and memory would justify. After what I have said you must permit me to add that I feel a personal interest similar to what I have described in regard to Lord Minto for the event of the great objects which you are now pursuing. I have little fear for their success and that harvest of honour and fame which I am sure you will consider as the highest reward, next to the consciousness of having meant to do good and the certainty of having done it.

The ships lately arrived have brought us letters of the 5th of March from Ceylon. Frederick was then happy in the thoughts of seeing you in a week or two. According to his accounts and those of Major Robertson, whom he has sent over, there is a good prospect of a considerable revenue from his island. Mr. Robertson says nine lacs of pagodas, or, after paying seven lacs for the civil and military establishment, a surplus of two lacs, which is, I believe, about £80,000. The support of so many civil and military subjects of this country alone, exclusive of the surplus, is surely a national advantage, and the great importance of Trincomalé to the safety of our Indian shipping, trade, and fortunes, if it is such as I have always understood it to be, will, I dare say, make you very unwilling to give your consent or opinion in favour of the cession of Ceylon on a peace. I am persuaded that, before this time, events have happened under your direction which will have rendered any claim of that sort equally inadmissible and absurd. I find North is much

embarrassed as to the administration of justice, civil, military, and naval, but that you and Sir J. Anstruther[1] have recommended a gentleman to him from whom he expects to derive very useful assistance. I should suppose civil and criminal justice will be necessarily in an awkward, unsettled state till a peace and a certainty as to the retention of the island. There are, I believe, always nice and knotty points relative to jurisdiction in your Indian territories, connected with the remaining vestiges of nominal sovereignty in the Mogul. Perhaps it has been wise still to leave those vestiges, though they were scarcely traceable in Lord Cornwallis' judicial and legislative regulations. But as to military laws, is there any reason why the Government of Ceylon should not be authorised to hold or appoint courts martial? Though I ask this question, I daresay long before now the matter has been arranged in consequence of his communications with you, and your decision or correspondence on the subjects. I find the new court of the Recorder at Madras proves to be an awkward machine, whether from the principle of its construction, or the qualities and circumstances belonging to some of its component parts. I suspect from both. You remember a grand new charter of justice, which had occupied years and years of discussion and consideration, and seemed at last, just before I came to the India Board, almost ripe for the great seal? Suddenly this charter vanished out of sight, and one on the

[1] Sir John Anstruther, Bart. (1753-1811), Chief Justice of Bengal, 1797-1806.

reduced scale of the statute of 37 G. 3. took its place, and was perhaps hurried through a little too hastily. *I say this confidentially*, for I had bestowed much time and labour to understand the subject (having been encouraged so to do), and when I was prepared to communicate any result of my labour, which might have been useful, or to give any assistance which industry could have afforded, the papers were sent for rather abruptly, and the first I heard of the new charter and act was when the latter was introduced into the House of Commons. I do not think this was at all owing to Dundas, nor do I call it the fault of anybody. I think it was the impatience, and perhaps too precipitate judgment, of some friends of my own and yours; but I believe it has produced a sort of half-measure which will not stand, and that it will be necessary yet to resort back to the principles which had arisen out of the former discussions, or, at least, alter and modify very much what has been established. I have received and seen a long correspondence on the subject. You will, being on the spot, notwithstanding other greater objects, be bound, I should think, to attend to it, and I shall probably see what you may write to Dundas or the Company upon it, and receive information and correction of mistakes. I may be under in that way. Or perhaps you may mention it to myself. I have by Dundas' desire sent him the other day some observations on what has already been written from Madras upon it.

Lord Clive writes to his relations and friends in the strongest and most cordial terms in regard to

you and your behaviour to him. I am glad you have such reason to be pleased with him. It was to be expected that Lady Clive would not find much to amuse her, and I think I have heard that Lord Clive's health has not been very good, from both which circumstances perhaps he may long for London and Oakley Park. I have not, however, heard any rumour of that sort.

I intend to wait upon Lady Mornington before I close this letter, which Lubell has promised to send by the first overland opportunity. Sir H. Cottrell has desired me to mention again to you Mr. Marriott, the son of Mr. Randle Marriott, of Thirsk, who was long in India, and who interpreted, it seems, for Lord Teignmouth,[1] at Lucknow, and is desirous of being employed in that way. Another person I wish to mention to you is a Mr. Elphinstone,[2] nephew to Lord Keith,[3] and for this reason : I received lately a letter from Lord Keith expressing very kind intentions towards a nephew of my own, who is a midshipman in his fleet, and adding a request that I would recommend Mr. Elphinstone to your attention. He is in the Civil Service, and, Lord Keith says, has not met with the promotion he might have expected.

Our friend, Sir J. Anstruther, has sent Dundas and myself the particulars of the reform he has

[1] Sir John Shore (*see ante*, p. 25), was created Baron Teignmouth in 1798.

[2] Probably Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), who entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1796. He was Governor of Bombay, 1819-1827, when he was offered the post of Governor-General of India, which he declined.

[3] George Keith Elphinstone, Viscount Keith (1746-1823), Admiral.

commenced, and I am glad to find his proceedings have been approved of and confirmed by the Government. I daresay he will prove a strict and intelligent judge. You learned his abilities and other qualities so well before that I am persuaded he will derive great benefit and assistance from your personal acquaintance and regard. You see, Lord Cornwallis' speech and the King's announce perseverance in the measure of union. Lord Castlereagh says the prospect improves in and out of Parliament. I am sorry to find your brother, Mr. Pole, is against it. Our parish priest, your other brother, who is very popular in society, and also in the pulpit, is now in Ireland. If Dr. Ewart has sent over an impeachment of Fred North, I presume you know the circumstances. He must, I think, be mad.[1]

LORD AUCKLAND TO THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Eden Farm : September 15, 1799

Mr. Willis having informed me that the second division of Indiamen may probably sail from Portsmouth in three or four days, I avail myself of the occasion to write a few lines immediately, and shall probably risk a further packet to Portsmouth in the course of next week. In the great outcome of politics, the French Directory continues to show no disposition towards a pacification ; and, thank God, this country begins at last to understand that a peace with such a Government would probably be worse than a continuance of the war. The same sentiment

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 245.

seems to be making way, though late, into the Cabinets of Europe. The Emperor of Russia has furnished us with one squadron, which is of some little use in the protection of the Channel, and a further squadron is expected. He is also proposing to send a large squadron into the Mediterranean, if the Porte will consent to its passing *pro hâc vice* through the Dardanelles. The Porte professes the greatest alarm and indignation at the proposed division of Egypt by Buonaparte. The Emperor of Germany is tacitly strengthening and disciplining his army in the hope of finding some favourable moment to drive the French out of Italy. The conferences at Rastadt never suspended, and the French threaten an immediate renewal of the war. I can say nothing good yet of Prussia. The people of Italy are showing themselves impatient under the French yoke, and the French troops are frequently assassinated. The Swiss are not less impatient. The Dutch are more than ever in the hands of France, and are supposed to have ten or twelve ships of the line in readiness; only they have not sailors for half of that number. At Brest there are about sixteen ships of the line, and seven or eight apparently in complete readiness. There are reports that Richez, with a small squadron, stole out some weeks or months ago, and went toward the Isles de France, with the intention to meet Buonaparte in the Red Sea; but so far as I can learn there is no ground whatever to credit these ingenious suppositions. At this hour we know nothing relative to Buonaparte except a Constantinople letter, which says that

he took possession of Alexandria on the 8th July (clearly as a proceeding of hostility and without any preparation of magazines, etc.). We also know that on the 22nd of July Nelson was off Syracuse, after a long and fruitless search of Buonaparte, in the course of which he called off Alexandria. In all this there is such wonderful ill-luck that one is tempted to ascribe it to the immediate interference and directing Hand of Providence.

This story was a grievous disappointment to us.

I now come to our own good island. She is as right-minded as ever, and very prosperous. The old taxes will be more productive this year than in any year since 1792. The last loan, though made on terms much more favourable to the public than the loan of the former year, is now at six and a half premium. We are preparing the plan of supplies for the next year, which will consist chiefly in generalising and enforcing the contribution of one-tenth upon all incomes whatever, except those under £60 a year, and in a more moderate scale of contribution from £60 to £200 a year. We have great hopes that we can put this pressure at last into a practicable shape, and that we may state it at seven or eight millions a year. The three per cents. are now at fifty, and we have no doubt but that our Land Tax Measure will in a few weeks raise that higher, notwithstanding the expected pressure of the next loan.

As to Ireland, I will say little. I send you the report of the Secret Committee, which is drawn with great ability (by Lord Clare). You will be

amused by the figure which Grattan makes in it, and will be more amused by the letter which the Duke of Portland must soon, I presume, write to dismiss such a Privy Counsellor.

My other enclosure gives you the catastrophe of the Irish invasion. The newspapers will best give you all the preceding details. I confess that I was beginning to think it a drama of somewhat more than five acts, but though it is mortifying that the landing of 1,000 French should create such a bustle during nineteen days, the result cannot fail to discourage further attempts of the same kind, and to lessen and destroy the hopes which the French and the rebels were disposed to place in each other. In the course of Lake's action about 500 of the rebels were killed, and the leaders mentioned by Lake (who had deserted from Lake) were shot after the battle. The Longford Militiamen at Castlebar were cut to pieces by our troops on being found with arms in the French service. It is now to be considered what can be done with regard to Ireland. Lord Clare is coming over to us. Union is talked of, and many papers upon the subject are on my table. But so far as I can judge it is a measure replete with difficulties, and likely to be strongly resisted in this country, even if it should be practicable as to Ireland.

I saw Mr. Pitt yesterday at Holwood, in good health (though still subject to strict diet and regimen), and in excellent spirits. He is now going for a few days to Walmer. It may be practicable to go on without meeting Parliament till the middle of November. The Speaker is

well at Woodley. Lord Carrington is in Yorkshire. Lady Auckland and I dined a few days ago with Wilberforce at Clapham, and found him very happy as a married man with an increasing family. His child is really a very fine and stout boy.

The King continues in perfect health and is at Weymouth. Twelve thousand of the English militia are now serving in Ireland. Lady Auckland and my daughters desire me to add their kindest compliments to you.[1]

LORD AUCKLAND *to* THE EARL OF MORNINGTON

Eden Farm: October 30, 1799

I must say something respecting the state of Europe and of the war, though I cannot say anything adequate to your own inferences from the perusal which you will give to the various truths and falsehoods accumulated in our newspapers. I never thought our prospects so decidedly good as they were generally supposed to be in the first week of last month, nor can I think them so much changed for the worse, as it is the fashion to believe in the last week of this month. It was in August not unreasonable to believe that before this time there would not be a Frenchman remaining either in Italy or in Switzerland or on the right side of the Rhine; and at present it is not absolutely certain that the campaign may not close with an army of French in Piedmont, with another army of French in Switzerland, and a third in Suabia, etc. I am still willing to believe that this will not be the case; much, if not the

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 249.

whole, will depend on the struggle which the Archduke and Suvôroff are now making against Massena. In the meantime the premium of our last loan, which was at twenty-one, has fallen to three.

The national feelings have been deeply affected by the unexpected close of the Dutch business. There were many who at the outset of that enterprise thought it bad policy to expose ourselves to a reverse at a moment when the prevalence of public opinion gave great embarrassment to the Parisian pandemonium. There were others who thought at the time, upon our acquisition of the Dutch fleet, that it would be wise to close the enterprise, and merely to keep the enemy in suspense as to when the next blow might fall. Again there were many who highly disapproved the sending Princes of the Blood and *Presidents of the Council* upon an expedition of severe and dangerous attack, in a narrow and difficult scene of action, and in the wet and windy approach of winter. Still, however, it was evident that he led a strong body of friends in Holland. It was doubtful whether the pressure against France in so many other parts would allow him to send an army ; it was now hoped that the King of Prussia, who had assembled troops, would at last co-operate with us ; and, at last, the expectations of success were so general and so high, that the kingdom was ill prepared to learn that it was become advisable to purchase our retreat by the surrender of 8,000 prisoners. It is in some measure true that our retreat might have been less exposed to loss by inundating a part of North Holland ; but many will

think that such a severity would have been preferable to any conception that may either humiliate our feelings or exalt those of the enemy. In other respects the conduct of the Duke of York, of the generals under him, and of the whole army, has been admirable, and we gained decidedly the victory in those very severe engagements under great disadvantages of position.

Still, although the last forty days have produced a great reverse in our prospects, we have made upon the whole a most glorious campaign, even without including in it your superb successes in India. Italy has been liberated; we have taken the valuable colony of Surinam and the whole Dutch fleet.

At present the Cabinet is occupied in a measure to ascertain what may be expected from the Courts of Vienna, Berlin, and Petersburg towards another campaign. It is daily within possibility that the Directory may make offers of peace which the Austrian Ministers may accept. It is within probability that the Emperor of Russia, who hitherto has acted magnanimously and on the great scale of conceptions and exertions, may stop short under the influence of the passionate and capricious feelings which evidently predominate in his character; and lastly, with respect to the Court of Berlin, it seems at last to be understood that no good is to be expected. Mr. Grenville is accordingly returned to England, and Mr. Garlike[1] remains *chargé d'affaires*.

[1] Benjamin Garlike, an early patron of Cobbett, was in the diplomatic service. He subsequently became Envoy at Constantinople, and died at an early age in 1815.

At any rate, the period for another Budget is approaching. Some little aid (perhaps three or four millions sterling) may be obtained as a loan without interest for the renewal of the Bank Charter ; for the other part of the loan there will be no insuperable difficulty, nor for the taxes. Our revenue is more flourishing than ever, though commerce receives a considerable check from the distresses of the Continent.

We have had a bad harvest, and the price of bread is rising. One word more on the subject of the war ; it is nowaday too much a predicament in which we can make neither war nor peace. But, thank God, I see no change in the national mind, which continues as right and as firm as ever, and the King retains the most perfect health.

We are at present much occupied in preparatory discussions for the Irish Union ; the meetings for the purpose have during four weeks been frequent and long at this place, at Holwood, and at Bulstrode, and we have had the assistance of Lord Clare and Lord Castlereagh (who is really possessed of excellent talents), Lord Hobart, Mr. Pellew, Mr. Corry,[1] Mr. Cooke,[2] and Mr. Douglas. The business is now in great forwardness under the several heads of Representation, Commerce, and Contribution.

Under the first we propose two members for

[1] Isaac Corry (1755-1813), a supporter of the Union, fought a duel with Grattan, 1800. He was Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, 1798-1804, and Surveyor of Irish Crown Lands, 1799-1813.

[2] Edward Cooke (1755-1820), also a supporter of the Union, Under Secretary for War, 1807, and for Foreign Affairs, 1812-1817.

each county: two for Cork, two for Dublin, and one for each of thirty-two principal places. Total, 100. The franchise of the others to be indemnified at the rate of about £15,000 to each place. And for the other House, twenty-eight lay peers to be chosen for life, and four spiritual lords to serve by rotation.

The commerce has given a good deal of trouble in order to reconcile its freedom to the safety of the revenue. The contribution to be in the proportion of one to six for the peace establishment, and of one to nine for the war expenditure, to the first period of revision, which is proposed to be at the end of twenty years, according to rules and principles which will be stated. But experience has shown how much such enterprises are liable to delays and disappointments. If the Union were well carried, I really believe that it would be the happiest and most important event that the British Empire has ever known.

At present it is meant that the Irish session should commence about the 10th of next January, and the British about the 20th.

Among the odd events of the time, Buonaparte's escape from Egypt[1] is curious enough. He seems to be the first instance of a general deserting, unless Lafayette's on the smaller scale may be so considered; but I believe that Lückner then commanded.

[1] He handed over the command of the army to Kléber and embarked August 23, landing at Fréjus on October 9. Joining the opponents of the Directory, he caused its overthrow, November 9 and 10, and in December became First Consul.

No more at present. My head and hand are tired.[1]

While events were thus stirring in Europe, Mornington had not been idle in India. He had in September 1798 negotiated a treaty with the Nizam of Haiderábád, by which that ruler dismissed his French officers and received in place of them Sepoys under the command of British officers. In return it was indicated that he would be protected against possible foes, and in October 1800 this was confirmed by a definite guarantee of the Nizam's dominions. Matters were not, however, so easily settled with Tipu, whose territory was a rallying ground for all those who objected to the British in India. Every preparation was made for war, and the command was entrusted to General Harris,[2] who, on March 5, 1799, entered Mysore, and on April 4 captured Seringapatam, Tipu being killed in the assault.

This was, of course, a great achievement, and Mornington was by no means inclined to minimise its importance, or to put at too low a figure the return that he expected for it. It is clear from his correspondence with Grenville that he thought a dukedom a fitting reward for his services.

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 263.

[2] George Harris (1746-1829), who in 1815 was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom as Baron Harris of Seringapatam and Mysore.

TIPU SULTAN
From an engraving by W. Ridley

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* LORD GRENVILLE

Fort St. George: May 12, 1799

To you I shall use no disguise, but inform you plainly that the manner in which I have conducted this war has been received with exultation, and even with the most unqualified admiration in India; and (to talk like Lord Abercorn) you will gain much credit by conferring some high and brilliant honour upon me immediately. The Garter would be much more acceptable to me than any additional title, nor would any title be an object which should not raise me to the same rank which was given to Lord Cornwallis. Tipu Sultan fought better and had a much more efficient army than in the last war, yet the British army entered Mysore on the 5th March, and took Seringapatam on the 4th May. In my conscience I believe the army fitted out under my eye, and commanded by General Harris, to be as fine as any in the world. I trust to you not to suffer me to be neglected. If my success at Haiderábád and at Seringapatam, accomplished within less than twelve months, be not merit, I know not what the public service is, and I cannot return to my happy indolence at home too soon.[1]

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* LORD GRENVILLE

Private *Fort St. George*

August 9, 1799

For an account of my operations and views I must refer you to the despatches and to the printed papers, and to my brother Henry, whom I have

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* v. 49.

persuaded myself to send to Dundas on the occasion of this important crisis. Henry is the only man in India, excepting myself, who is thoroughly master of the whole subject; and although it is dreadful to me to be separated from him, and left here absolutely alone (Arthur being stationed at Seringapatam), I sacrificed my private comfort to my views of the public service, and resolved to despatch him to Europe with the Partition Treaty of Mysore, and the Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam—*now* a *British* garrison. I anticipate the satisfaction you will feel in the magnitude of the services which I have been able to render within so short a time. If they are estimated and felt in Europe as they are in India, I shall have nothing to desire in point of character. . . .[1]

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON *to* LORD GRENVILLE

Fort William: November 29, 1799

You seem surprised at the earnestness with which I spoke of honours, and you tell me I must ultimately look to *English effect*. But I must look to English effect through *Indian effect*, and I feel every hour that, *for the latter*, the highest rank and honour are indispensable. This is so much my conscientious opinion with regard to this Government that (if I am deemed unworthy of such distinctions) my decided judgment is that some person should be sent here who either actually possesses them, or may receive them soon after his arrival. . . . The opinion of the public here is indeed

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* v. 267.

an honour to me such as I can never receive in the shape of title ; unless inasmuch as that form shall express to me the approbation of my friends and country. But the public opinion here will be affected by any coldness in England—and am I to expect to see my claims undervalued at home ? or can I bear, without the most poignant regret, the idea that more justice is done to me here than by those whom I quitted with so much grief ? [1]

The news of the conquest of Mysore was received with enthusiasm at Leadenhall Street, and, on November 13, 1799, the Court of Proprietors passed unanimously a vote of thanks to the Governor-General " for the wisdom, energy, and decision displayed by him in the discharge of his arduous duty from the period of his arrival in India until the glorious and happy termination of the late war by which the power of the Sultan of Mysore and the influence of the French in India have been crushed, events which promise to establish on a firm basis the tranquillity and security of the British dominions in India." A more material reward was a pension of £5,000 a year, granted for twenty years—a return for Mornington's having declined to take his share of the prize-money collected at Seringapatam. " I understand," he had written to Dundas, " that if the reserved part or the prize taken at Seringapatam, consisting of prize-money and ordnance,

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* vi. 49.

should come into the possession of the Company, it is their intention to grant the whole to the army, reserving £100,000 to be afterwards granted to me. I am satisfied upon reflection you will perceive that the accepting such a grant would place me in a very humiliating situation with respect to the army; and, independent of any question of character, or of the dignity and vigour of government, I should be miserable if I could ever feel that I had been enriched at the expense of those who must ever be the object of my affection, admiration, and gratitude, and who are justly entitled to the exclusive possession of all that a munificent King and an admiring country can bestow. Even if the independence of my family were at stake, which I thank God it is not, I never could consent to establish it on an arrangement injurious to the conquerors of Mysore."[1]

The British Government, too, desired to honour Mornington, and Pitt's proposal that the Governor-General should be advanced to the dignity of a Marquess in the Irish peerage was approved by the King. The honour was gazetted in December, and Wellesley (as he must henceforth be called) received the news towards the end of April (1800). "I cannot describe my anguish of mind in feeling myself bound by every sense of duty and honour to declare my bitter disappointment at the reception which the King has given to my services,

[1] Pearce: *Wellesley*, i. 337.

and at the ostensible mark of favour that he has conferred upon me," he wrote at once to Pitt. "In England, as in India, the disproportion between the service and the reward would be imputed to some opinion existing in the King's mind of my being disqualified by some personal incapacity to receive the reward of my conduct. I leave you to judge what the effect of such an impression is likely to be on the minds of those whom he is appointed to govern, and with what spirit or hope of success he can attempt to take that lead among the allies which it must now be the policy of the British Government to assume in India. I will confess openly that as I was confident there had been nothing *Irish* or pinchbeck in my conduct or in its result, I felt an equal confidence that I should find nothing Irish or pinchbeck in my reward. My health must necessarily suffer with my spirits, and the mortifying situation in which I am placed will soon become intolerable to me. You must therefore expect either to hear of some calamity happening to me or to see me in England, where I shall arrive in perfectly good spirits, in the most cordial good temper with all my friends, and in the most firm resolution to pass the remainder of my life in the country, endeavouring to forget what has been inflicted upon me." The letter is signed, "Mornington (not having yet received my double-gilt potato)."

A step in the Irish peerage was, indeed, a poor reward, but it is noteworthy that not his protests at this time, nor his subsequent services, ever resulted in Wellesley securing higher rank, though, to the end of his days, he ardently desired a dukedom.

The Earl of Liverpool *to* The Marquess Wellesley

London: February 14, 1800

I beg leave to offer to your Lordship my sincerest congratulations on the capture of Seringapatam, and of all the dominions of Tipu Sultan, and on the great honour and reputation, which your Lordship has acquired by your conduct in every part of this business. I do assure your Lordship that the public here are unanimous in their approbation of it.

We are still under the necessity of continuing the war against France. Your Lordship will read in the public papers an account of the revolution which took place in the Government of France on the 9th of last November [the overthrow of the Directory]. All the republican principles which the politicians and philosophers of that country have endeavoured to propagate for the last ten years are now abandoned and rejected by the avowal of the members and supporters of the present French Government. That Government is no longer a republic, but a military despotism, under the direction of Buonaparte. Your Lordship will also see by the printed papers in what

manner His Majesty has been advised to reject the propositions for peace made by Buonaparte. The two Houses of Parliament have approved of this advice, and, in truth, the administration of the country was never more firmly established, nor more popular and triumphant, than it is at present. Our connections with foreign powers are still subject to great uncertainty and embarrassment. Though the Emperor of Russia is cordially connected with Great Britain in all that relates to the war, he does not agree, nor can he be made to agree, with his brother, the Emperor of Germany. The Emperor of Russia pursues the war on the simple principle of restoring the Government of France, as well as all ancient Governments. The Court of Vienna look to nothing else but the aggrandisement of the power of the House of Austria, and will not adopt any ancient principle, or support any former system, except so far as it does not interfere with their ambitious views, which are to them a more favourite object. It has been found, also, that though the Russian common soldiers are the bravest in the world, their troops in general, from the defect of their regimental officers, are not so good as there was reason to expect; and as these troops cannot, therefore, act alone with a prospect of success, it is impossible, on the other hand, to induce the Austrians to act with them. Suvôroff, who is a sort of savage with great talents and vigour of mind, acknowledges himself that he can do nothing without the assistance of an Austrian État-Major and Austrian artillery, and the Government of Vienna will not

suffer him to avail himself of their co-operation in this respect. Under these difficulties, we have been forced to relinquish the assistance we expected to receive from the Russian army in Germany. The whole, or at least the greatest part, of it will march back into their own country. The subsidy we paid on this account will cease, and we shall employ our money in hiring German troops to act in conjunction with the Austrian army in Germany.

The Austrian troops in this quarter will be very numerous—100,000 men at the least, and they will be supported by a large body of other German troops, which Great Britain will take into her pay. The Austrian army in Italy will also amount to 100,000 men, and they will be assisted in the north of Italy by a body of Piedmontese troops. After this latter army has made itself master of Genoa, one-half of it are to endeavour to make their way into Dauphiné, while the remainder defends the passes by which the French might descend from Switzerland into Italy. A large body, however, of Russian troops will be employed in the southern parts of Italy, where the King of Naples is prevented from returning to his Italian dominions by the tumults and insurrections which still prevail among his subjects in those parts; and a part of these will probably be employed in endeavouring to get possession of Malta. You will see, from the Egyptian intercepted correspondence (a copy of which I have no doubt will be sent to you), the state of the French army in Egypt, where they will certainly perish if we can

prevent succour being sent them, and if the undisciplined Turks can be induced to act so as only to endeavour to intercept their communication by land, and not suffer themselves to be drawn into a general engagement, in which they will always be beat. I could wish that a sufficient number of the Company's troops, which are under your Lordship's command, could be employed to take firm possession of some strong post that could command the straits of Babelmandeb, for Commodore Blankett[1] writes me word that the passage up the Red Sea, and the communication by land to Alexandria, is much more practicable than has been commonly imagined. We have 15,000 Russian troops in our pay, now stationed in Guernsey and Jersey, where we are endeavouring to bring them into a more correct state of discipline. They are ready to make impressions on the French coast, and to assist any insurrections that may happen. They will at least have the effect of occupying the attention of a great number of French troops, and creating a very considerable diversion. We have, besides, in this country 50,000 disposable troops to be employed in any expedition which it may be thought advisable to undertake, and we expect many insurrections in different parts of France in the beginning of the summer.

At the time I write the great contest is going on at Dublin in the Irish House of Commons, with

[1] Commodore, afterwards Rear-Admiral, John Blankett (died 1801) served as Commander of the British fleet in the Egyptian operations.

respect to a Legislative Union. I think it will be carried, though the resistance that is made to it is powerful, very angry, and very tumultuous. I have thus taken the liberty of giving your Lordship a short picture of the state of things in Europe.[1]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* LORD GRENVILLE

Fort William: May 1, 1800

Pitt, Dundas, and Bernard will tell you how I have been distressed by my Irish honours, and what their effect is likely to be here; they will tell you that I must come home, if I am to continue an Irish Lord, and to receive no higher marks of the King's sense of my services. But I shall return in perfect good-humour with myself and my friends, and exactly in a disposition to become a Buckinghamshire or Berkshire freeholder, and to remain a country gentleman to the end of my days, talking over Indian politics with Major Massacre, and Mrs. Hastings, and the Major Majorum, not forgetting Major Aprorum, Rennell; and with your speech, and the votes of both Houses, framed, over my parlour chimney.

With respect to grants of money, I cannot accept any grant which shall be, or shall appear to me, a deduction from the prize-money of the army. Dundas has been most kind in the pains he has taken on the subject.

I am tolerably well, but in bad spirits, and annoyed by feelings of mortification and disappointment, which I shall soon forget when I have

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 279.

shuffled off this mortal coil, and arrived on English, not *Breetish*, nor *Irish*, ground.

Despatch the overland express, and, for God's sake, bring me home, home, home; home first, home last, home midst.

No official letter has reached me respecting my *new brogues*, and it would not be correct to put them on *before I get them, by Jasus*.[1]

The Earl Bathurst *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Cirencester: May 28, 1800

I never was much acquainted with your brother[2] before he went to India: since his return I have made a point of seeing a good deal of him, and like him very much, for many reasons, but particularly for the great interest he seems to take in all your wishes and pursuits, about which he took several opportunities of speaking to me. I told him what I had told Lady Wellesley, that I thought in the way in which titles had been for some time distributed, the making you a Marquess was not by any means an adequate reward for your services. I heartily wish there had been no engagement to prevent you having immediately a Blue Ribbon, which, from being a personal distinction, would have been particularly desirable to you. He seemed exceedingly anxious upon other points about which he knew you to be, and we had much conversation respecting all the difficulties which

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* vi. 209.

[2] The Hon. Henry Wellesley was sent home with despatches concerning the conquest of Mysore.

attended them. I intended to have had a conversation with Pitt, but I have not for the last two months been in the way of seeing him, and I am at last obliged to leave London last Friday without having done so. The Speaker, however, told me that Pitt would certainly see and converse with your brother before he went, and would write a letter to you, which, of course, would be more satisfactory to you. I am afraid there will be great difficulties in getting a title for your son. If it could be done at all the way would be by a direct creation, and not by descent, and that would be better managed after your return (when he and his mother would be older) than just now. His talents, and his manners, which are without exception the best I ever saw any boy possessed of, together with the fortune which you will be enabled to settle upon him if you continue in India your five years, and should have no more children, which Lady Wellesley's age, you will recollect, does not make it by any means impossible on your return: all these circumstances, I say, will make his situation in life so advantageous that his prospects must be satisfactory to you, even if you were not to succeed in this object. Nothing, I hope, will induce you to return before the expiration of the five years, not only on account of the difference it must make in your pecuniary concerns, but in what I am sure affects you much more than that or any consideration of rewards. I mean, your credit as a public character, which would certainly not stand in the very high light your friends have the satisfaction of finding it does at present. I can

speak of this the more confidently from the kind of observations which were made upon the report of your coming home a few months ago, and which, whenever I heard them, I contradicted.

Pitt's health has not been for these last two months as good as we could wish, and any exertion seems always to affect him, which you know used not to be the case. But this has only been the case the last two or three months, for in the winter I think he was looking better than he has done for a long while.

Dundas is by no means strong, and requires great care and attention to keep himself well. You will see by the newspapers that there has been a great division about a Divorce Bill, partly from difference of opinion respecting the Bill itself, but partly from a sort of wish in many in the House of Lords to take an opportunity of running at Grenville ; and the Duke of Clarence is certainly desirous of establishing a sort of princely influence in the House, which I think will in time become troublesome.

A great deal of all this, however, certainly proceeds from there being no regular Opposition. The secession dissolved what did exist, and the principal members of it have quarrelled too much to unite without some immediate prospect of success. The Prince of Wales has been during the whole winter looking so ill that it was not thought he would survive the year, but he is now much better, and his physician, Sir William Farquhar, says he is well, if he could but think himself so, and his friends take great pains to declare this

everywhere; but he is still subject to violent spasms, for which he takes a great quantity of laudanum: this can hardly be imagination. He dines with everybody. What think you of his making Tom Tyrwhitt[1] give him a dinner in order to meet William Jackson; and that not for the purpose of making him drunk, for Jackson complained afterwards he had not had wine enough.

Your brother will tell you all the news, etc. I do not know whether you have not some intention of making some purchase in the country; the sea generally agrees with you so well that you will probably wish to settle near it, but, if not, it strikes me that Park Place, which Lord Malmesbury[2] bought, would suit you on account of the distance from London and the beauty of the place. Lord Malmesbury has made the house a very good one, I understand, and now wishes to part with it, as he always gets tired of any place, and his son does not like it because there is no good shooting, which I think would not be an objection to you[3].

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Chelmsford: August 25, 1800

I have just learnt that your brother leaves town

[1] Thomas Tyrwhitt, an intimate of the Prince of Wales. He was subsequently knighted, and acted as Black Rod.

[2] James Harris, first Earl of Malmesbury (1746-1820), diplomatist. He had negotiated the marriage between the Prince of Wales and Princess Caroline of Brunswick. His *Diaries* were published in 1844.

[3] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 290.

to-morrow for India, and I cannot suffer him to see you without reminding you of the unabated interest I take in all I hear about you. The public approbation of your conduct seems still as high as ever, and has not been lessened by the envy which has arisen in consequence of the remunerations given to you, which are in every point exactly what I wished for you. I have put into my brother's hands two days ago a proposal (which we both thought in many points highly eligible for you) for the purchase of Burke's house down at Beaconsfield. This is (peculiarly to you) truly classic ground, but it is close to Dropmore, and not far from Stowe; and your nearest neighbour is our friend Lord Carrington,[1] who has established himself with great alterations at Lord Lansdowne's at High Wycombe. I have not heard for the last two days the result of my brother's enquiries, but if he and your friends approve this purchase it would make me very happy.

The most unexpected reverse of everything that was hoped for on the continent has so entirely routed every speculation founded on former history either of war or of policy, that I have closed my book of speculation and am content to take the events as they arise. But it seems to me most clear that Vienna will make her peace with France, because it is most clear that Buonaparte must give her good terms, in order that he may secure his existence, which depends wholly on peace. And the next fear I entertain is that he

[1] Robert Smith, first Baron Carrington (1752-1838), a supporter of Pitt, who raised him to the peerage in 1796.

will offer to England, from the same motives, such terms as Mr. Pitt dare not refuse, and yet such as in my mind will give us up to the very increased power of France. I understand that his situation is very critical, and that, if he fails in his Austrian peace, the Jacobins will overthrow him. He is now urging upon our backs a Northern armed neutrality, with whom we have actually grappled by the detention of this Danish frigate. My brother is sanguine in his hopes that Lord Whitworth's negotiation, backed by Admiral Dickson, who was off Elsinor with nine ships and four bomb-ketches on the 11th, will settle this dispute. But I own that I do not agree with him on this subject, for I cannot persuade myself but that this matter had been previously settled by Russia. If, however, it is true that Paul is reconciling himself to Austria, it is possible that he will leave the Dane to settle his own quarrel with us. I do not, however, know why I trouble you with this nonsense; for, interested as your Government is in the chapter of Danish hostility, or amity, you will have had the best materials for deciding upon this question.

I trust that you will not be sorry to see my son's name[1] to the despatches from the Board of

[1] Richard Temple Nugent Brydges Chandos Grenville (1776-1839), elder son of the Marquess of Buckingham, entered Parliament in 1797. He accepted the office of a Commissioner of the Board of Control on July 2, 1800, but resigned in the following March. He succeeded his father as (second) Marquess in 1813, and nine years later was created Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. His *Private Diary* was published in 1862.

Control. He is named a Supernumerary Commissioner and without pay, a situation that exactly meets his wishes ; and I trust that he is fairly embarked in those habits of business which are necessary to the existence of a Grenville. In truth he is a very discerning young man, and if he continues to look to public business his talents will not disgrace him. It is no small part of my gratification that you will be able to assist his career by your information and opinions in that department. But I sincerely hope that the reports which I have heard of your anxiety for your *immediate* return to England are unfounded, for although I should be very happy to see you once more safely landed, in every sense of the word, yet I am confident that you would severely repent any precipitation on this subject. The natural period of your return will not prolong your absence very much, and the difference of a year may decide very much upon the pride and comfort of the many years that I trust are in store for you, with all the enjoyment of what you have added to your fame, character, and situation. You will, I know, excuse all I say and all I feel on these subjects, for you know how much I love and esteem you.

Adieu, dear Wellesley. God give you health ! All the rest you have made for yourself.

I have been very ill this spring with a fever that nearly carried me off. It ended by a violent erysipelas in my left leg, which, having been broken four years ago, is now so weak that I can hardly walk ; but I am in good health, and I am now (though only fit for invalid duty) with my

regiment at Chelmsford, and on my way to Gosfield, where I pass the remainder of the summer.

P.S. Could you procure for me a small *pignon* of one of the turrets or columns of Tipu's palace? My brother and I both settled that you ought to bring one over for yourself to be put on the summit of an Indian column at *your Mysore*, which must be the name of your house wherever you choose that part of the East India Company's £100,000 shall be vested.[1]

It is needless to say that the reward merely of a "double-gilt potato" did not undermine Wellesley's health, albeit he was highly indignant. He redoubled his energies, and continued strenuously to put his house in order. He became the supreme power in the Carnatic in 1801, and in the same year entered into a treaty with Oudh, by which the Nawáb ceded a considerable territory in return for protection against his foes. Wellesley appointed his brother, Henry, to govern the new district. For this he was attacked by the Directors of the East India Company, who regarded the appointment as an encroachment upon their rights of patronage. When the Governor-General received letters to this effect from Leadenhall Street, he at once announced his intention to return to England as soon as his successor was appointed.[2]

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 294.

[2] See the letters of Addington, Wellesley-Pole, etc., in September 1802.

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

February 10, 1801

Though you will have heard from my brother the details of all that has happened here, yet he will not say to you what is necessary for you to know, *viz.*, that amongst those who quit the King's service there are many who doubt the propriety of the resolution taken by Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt of lending themselves to the King's views to enable him to fight the game which they conceive so hazardous to the country as to justify them, under all the existing circumstances of danger and difficulty, in resigning their situations. It is clear to me that the King had no resource if Addington had not been rash enough to undertake the government, and it is equally clear to me that if the King had so found himself checkmate he would ultimately have given way in the religious scruple of his oath, which did not interfere with the repeal of the Irish Test Act in 1782 for the Dissenters, or with the Catholic relaxation in 1795. But these scruples have now been suggested to him, and the step adopted by Mr. Pitt will give strength to this High Church cry. In short, this system is too refined for common comprehension, and a political line that is intended for the comprehension of the people at large must be plain and direct. You will see that the newspapers treat all this as a juggle and trick that is to end in the restoration of Mr. Pitt, and this is the interpretation so universally given to it that the stocks have hardly fallen. Judge then what the

impression will be on the public mind when they find that they are abandoned to a Ministry of such vapid dregs. The details of it you will learn (as far as they are known) from others. No War Minister can be found, and no man hardy enough to go to Ireland either as Lord-Lieutenant or as Commander-in-Chief. Lord Hawkesbury takes my brother's office. The Duke of Portland and Lord Westmorland remain. Lord St. Vincent will possibly accept the Admiralty. Lord Spencer has acted most handsomely, and has spoken to the King and to all who come near him in the manner I could wish ; so has Windham. Dundas speaks the same language as Pitt, and directs his nephew to retain his office. Lord Gower and his brother resign, so does Canning, Long, my son, and some others, but the general impression amongst the office people is to *gratify Mr. Pitt* by retaining their situations. Ryder refused the seals, but acts as a Minister. Lord Carlisle[1] refused the Admiralty, Lord Macartney the India Board, and Pelham[2] the War Department. *Cum multis aliis.*

Such, my dearest friend, is the exact state of this moment ; on our foreign politics, on our internal dissensions, on our projects in Ireland and the long list of etceteras, I say not a word, for you will have them from other hands, but Bernard is waiting to close this packet.[3]

[1] Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825), the friend of Fox and George Selwyn.

[2] Thomas Pelham (1756-1826), Irish Secretary, 1795-1798. He was Home Secretary under Addington. He succeeded his father as (second) Earl of Chichester, 1805.

[3] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 321.

J. Hoppner, R.A. pinxt. *G. Clint, sculpt.*

WILLIAM PITT

Pitt resigned the office of Prime Minister in March 1801, owing to the King's refusal to consent to Catholic Emancipation, a measure which the Minister thought essential to the pacification of Ireland. With him retired the entire Cabinet, except the Duke of Portland, Lord Westmorland, and Lord Chatham, who retained in the new administration their posts of Home Secretary, Lord Privy Seal, and Lord President. Under Addington, Hawkesbury became Foreign Minister and Hobart War Minister. Eldon was Lord Chancellor, St. Vincent went to the Admiralty, and Lewisham to the Board of Control.

LORD AUCKLAND *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Quite private *Eden Farm: April* 4, 1801

You will have learnt through other channels, before you can receive this letter, that the strong administration of our friends is *felo de se*. Why it should have been so is an enigma to many, and to none more than to me. I was provoked to express this sentiment inadvertently in debate a few days ago, and I enclose a statement of my expressions, which are (I believe) very faithfully given. I have long been known to have a decided opinion on the Catholic question, and I supposed it to be the opinion also of those who have now taken so fatal a step in support of the opposite opinion. I lament personally that individuals whom I love and respect should have placed themselves in a predicament which will load them with the whole

discredit, if the war should end unhappily, and which will give to others the whole credit of the result, if that result should be better than we now expect. I lament from more contracted motives that what has so strangely happened must necessarily separate friends from friends. I lament in a larger sense that the Empire has lost the only Government which had strength of mind and public confidence in any degree adequate to the difficulties which are pressing upon us. I feel both esteem and affection for some of the new Ministers, but I am not blind to the confusion which forces itself upon my observation and on the conviction of all mankind.

In short, my dear Lord, I wish that I could write a cheerfuller letter to you. Perhaps I see the whole history with a jaundiced eye, for I feel myself to a certain degree, and for a certain interval at least, inevitably separated both from those who are in and from those who have put themselves out.

In the hope of avoiding all political reflections I am come with my family for two or three weeks to this place.

The present objects of public anxiety are :

1. The King's health, which, notwithstanding the announced recovery, continues to be seriously and alarmingly shaken ;

2. The negotiations for peace which must be sought by the new Government to the utmost verge of concession not essentially unsafe and dishonourable ;

3. The Egyptian Expedition, which has loitered

so long on the road that our expectations droop ;

4. The Baltic Expedition, which sailed with sanguine hopes of getting possession of the Danish Fleet ; those hopes are now less confident.

I will write again soon ; and I am willing to hope that I see matters worse than I ought to do.

I can at least inform you that your sons are doing as well as possible.[1]

SCROPE BERNARD *to* HENRY ADDINGTON

Abingdon Street : May 4, 1801

I hope you will allow me to call to your mind the conversations you permitted me to have with you on the subject of the honours granted to Lord Wellesley, which you are aware fall very short of the expectations he had entertained. The subsequent successes in India and the advantageous treaties concluded by his Lordship, and the important services performed by him in every part of his administration, may perhaps suggest the propriety of recommending His Majesty to confer some further honour upon his Lordship. In that case an opportunity will be given to efface the disagreeable impressions which the grant of an Irish marquisate excited in his mind, by advancing him from that rank to a marquisate of the United Kingdom. As he is already above all the existing earls no umbrage could be given to any one by such a measure ; and how much his mind dwells upon it, and how essential he considers it to his honour, reputation, and consideration in

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 327.

India, and even to his peace of mind, may be seen by an enclosed extract of a letter which I take the liberty of communicating to you in explanation of his feelings on this subject. It is possible that the grant of new honours to the heroes of Copenhagen may give a convenient opportunity of doing justice to Lord Wellesley's claims, by advancing him to the title of Marquess Wellesley of the county of Somerset, in reward of his eminent services in the East subsequent to the date of the honours conferred upon him before. And considering the extent of his grief and disappointment, I know nothing that could be more gratifying to him and his friends than such a measure, if circumstances should enable you to recommend it to His Majesty.[1]

THE HON. WILLIAM WELLESLEY-POLE *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Hanover Square: July 3, 1801

I do not attempt to write you any news. Your other correspondents are better able to do that than I am. I think Addington's Government goes on very well. There is, in fact, less opposition than there was when Pitt went out, though the Government undoubtedly rests upon Pitt's support. However, I think it does so much more now than it will in another session. Addington is said to be improving as a speaker. I think by what I hear, and by the newspaper reports, that he is too candid on his legs. This, I hope, will

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 339.

mend. The session is over and all the business has gone off very well.

Ireland is perfectly tranquil, and will continue so, unless the French land.

It would surprise you to see Pitt lounging through the streets in a morning, generally by himself, and seeming not to have anything to do. His friends cry him up more than ever, and so he never was in better spirits. He is dreadfully distressed in his circumstances, and Holwood is to be sold. It is surprising how little sensation his going out has made in the country: nobody speaks of him; no addresses, no subscriptions, no stir of any kind anywhere. His particular friends have frequently said the City of London meant to come forward and pay his debts; but not the slightest appearance of such a thing has there been eastward of Temple Bar. Is not all this wonderful? From all I can learn, Addington and Pitt are as firm friends as ever they were.

Dudley Ryder is dying.[1] He has had a fever which ended in an abscess in his side that is killing him. Bragge will be his successor as Treasurer of the Navy.

Addington told me yesterday he would immediately write to you. He has been so harassed since he came in that he has not been able hitherto to do it. He seems mortified at your not having taken any notice of him for a twelvemonth.[2]

[1] He lived for another forty-six years.
[2] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 344.

LORD AUCKLAND *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *Eden Farm: August* 28, 1801

Mr. Pitt is apparently much more robust than he was when you left England. He must suffer in his private reflections from the untoward turn and unpromising state of the continental war, but he looks well, and speaks brave words at the breach.

The Speaker, Lord Carrington, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Canning, etc., are all well, and as you left them, except that the last is Paymaster, and has married a pretty woman with a large fortune and of very pleasing manners.[1] Lord Carrington resides much at his new estate near Wycombe, and is building there.

Lord Castlereagh, who is a young man of excellent character and certainly of *first-rate* talents, is at present in England; and we are looking forward to the meeting of the United Parliament.[2] It is impossible to look without uneasiness to an amalgamation with 140 new legislators. The process is subject to some risk and uncertainty, and may be liable to fermentations, if not to explosions. In other respects, the more

[1] Canning married on July 8, 1800, Joan, daughter of Major-General John Scott, of Balcomie, in the county of Fife, who had a *dot* of £100,000. Mrs. Canning's eldest sister, Henrietta, had married in 1795 William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, the eldest son of the third Duke of Portland.

[2] The Union of Great Britain and Ireland was proposed in the Irish Parliament, January 22, 1799, and was rejected in the Irish House of Commons. Re-introduced in February, after the measure had been approved by the English Parliament, it was carried by substantial majorities. The Act of legislative union became operative on January 1, 1807.

I reflect on the measure of union the more I am convinced of its gigantic importance, and of its tendency to double the strength and resources of our Empire.

It is more than ever desirable that the effect of the Union should be such as to add to our means and powers; for we can no longer conceal from ourselves that the war is likely to end without any settlement of the independence of Europe, and with great accessions to the continental domination and resources of France. I do not even think that the sudden disappearance of Buonaparte from the scene of action would give any essential turn to affairs. He would probably be succeeded by Berthier, Moreau, Massena, or some other "Dux, Imperator, and Consul" would take the reins. In short, strange and unforeseen turns may take place; but, I must confess, we see nothing within the line of fair calculation and probability that tends to enable us either to push the war with effect, or to make a peace with safety. At present our countrymen in general are well aware of the dilemma, and having provided for the expenses of the year are well contented to take the chapter of accidents and events. But the equinox is approaching, and the demands for another year are coming within view, and the income tax is already mortgaged as far as 1808. Buonaparte, who, in spite of some bad and detestable points in his history, certainly possesses great qualities both in council and in the field, is busied in intriguing against us at the several Courts of Europe, by cajoleries, money, and

negotiation, and he is proposing to renew our alarms respecting Ireland and Portugal.

Our Royal Master (who, thank God, continues to preserve the most perfect health) stands stout and unshaken. His Ministers in general are also stout, and there may even be one or two among them who still talk of protecting the old French monarchy. The support of Parliament is also steady.

As to the rest, I can only say: "*Enfin, nous verrons.*" That same battle of Marengo[1] was a most unexpected calamity of the first magnitude. The mildest remark that can be made upon it is that the Austrians were wretched dupes in suffering their whole attention to be turned towards Genoa, whilst the French army of reserve was breaking into Italy through a line of march which might have been thwarted by a corps of 1,000 men.

We have had at least one providential interference in our favour this year, by eleven weeks of the finest weather for the hay and corn that I can remember to have seen in any country. We accordingly have an early and abundant harvest, sufficient to have reduced the loaf already from 18½d. to 13½d., and it may be expected to be lowered soon to 11d. or 10d. I am not so sanguine as many who believe that we shall soon see it again at 7d. A late and unfavourable harvest would have placed us absolutely in a state of famine, for the difficulty was already great, and

[1] At the battle of Marengo, June 14, 1800, Napoleon engaged the Austrians under Melas. The French were at one time driven back, and in the afternoon the Austrians were masters of the field, but the arrival of Desaix turned the scale, and at nightfall the French were victors.

the supply in many districts was become precarious, although we had imported wheat to the amount of about six millions sterling, and though there had been a great and general reduction in the consumption, partly from good will and partly from the effect of price. The people bore the difficulty well, and now that the alarm is in a great degree removed, they are beginning to talk nonsense about regrettors, forestallers, etc., and to persuade themselves that all the high prices have been fictitious ; and these idle ideas are too much encouraged by some respectable magistrates and by many foolish Members of Parliament.

On your return you will find the peers of the United Kingdom assembled in the Court of Requests, which is fitting up to receive them. Lord Liverpool will find it cold in every respect whatsoever. St. Stephen's Chapel is preserved, and I am glad of it ; but some alterations are making in Solomon's Porch, in the galleries and seats.

And now, having written over eight pages of colloquial commerce, I recollect that I can tell you nothing that you will not learn better and more completely from your brother, and so with all possible kind remembrances from this household. . . .[1]

William Wilberforce *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Yoxall Lodge, near Lichfield
September 3, 1801

It may be safely laid down as a general rule

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 347.

that we never behave ill to another without an injury to ourselves. The situation in which I now find myself is an illustration of this truth ; for whilst I may appear to have been inattentive to you, I can honestly declare that I have been unjust to myself, in not contributing to your comfort whilst abroad, according to my measure, by writing to you from time to time as I conceived anything had arisen which was worth communicating to you. I could make many and no bad excuses, but the honest, plain matter of fact is this—that from various causes having delayed writing for some time I was ashamed to take up the pen. Procrastination was thus submitted to on principle, and now my wonder rather is, how I am able to break the spell, the fatal force of which I have so long experienced. But having a little leisure in the midst of a forest, I find myself powerfully impelled to renew my correspondence with you, and to express some of the sentiments and emotions which I have long felt. For, indeed, my dear Lord Wellesley, I can truly assure you (and, therefore, I repeat it, I have been highly unjust to myself) that though I have maintained so long a silence, I have participated in the satisfaction which your friends must have indulged, on account of the wisdom and spirit which in very difficult and critical circumstances were so eminently displayed in your whole conduct, and the extraordinary success with which it pleased God to bless your measures. I must also pay my tribute of acknowledgment to you for that recognition of the over-ruling Hand of Providence which you

exhibited, and in which, I will say, you showed that you understood the character you had assumed of the head and earthly representative of a great Empire. *Olim hoc meminisse juvabit*—the day will come when your conduct in this respect, as well as in others, will be looked back to as exhibiting the marks of sound policy as well as rational piety. But I know how little time you must have at your command, and, therefore, though I am willing to believe that you will not grudge the trouble of reading this letter, I must not forget that brevity is a quality highly becoming to those who would expect their letters to be read by a Governor-General of Bengal. If I were to begin to say anything to you of matters at home, when could I stop ? I could almost adopt, though I hope with very different feelings and meaning, part of Tiberius' famous exclamation: What changes have taken place within the last few months ! You have doubtless heard from others all that could properly be communicated by letter. I will, however, say two things, because I may consider myself as an impartial spectator, and what I say may, therefore, be less suspected of proceeding from any bias ; first, that it was not possible *at last* for Pitt to avoid retiring ; and, secondly, that, much as you and I have been used on former occasions to admire his magnanimity, the greatness of mind with which he acted on the late trying occasion was such as to surprise as well as to delight me. And yet there seemed no straining, no effort ; all was natural and easy—in such a degree as to render you insensible to the

extraordinary magnanimity of his conduct, until you recollected yourself and called in reflection to your aid. It is only justice to Addington to say that he has acted in that honourable way which you, I know, would have expected from him. It was the fashion at first to say *that it would not do*, etc. The phrase will be to you sufficiently intelligible, but I always maintained the contrary, and the event has justified my expectations. You would smile at Sheridan's similes—that the state of the old Ministry, after Pitt, Grenville, and Dundas had left their colleagues, reminded him of what was called knocking out the brains of a committee; and that it surely was a Hibernian way of cleaning ship, to throw the great guns overboard. But Addington has done very respectably in the House, and with a support like Pitt's, given with what a learned friend of ours calls so much bonafideship, nothing is to be apprehended.

I am trespassing against the resolution I made not to detain you long, but before I conclude I must vindicate myself from the charge of negligence in another particular, I mean in not having waited on Lady Wellesley more frequently. The honest truth is that I found I talked French so miserably that I could not make anything out, and we too readily admit the attacks of procrastination when she is able to assault us at advantage by suggestions less substantial of their kind than this. I must break off, but not without assuring you of my best wishes. I cannot express my hopes that you may conquer new Tipus. Happily you have

left nothing of that sort to do. I will only wish that it may please God still to render you the instrument of good to India, and to bestow on you the highest of all honours, that of being His agent in promoting the happiness of the many millions over whom you are placed. I do not believe that you are of a temper to forget your old friends, and, therefore, I take my share in your honours.[1]

British prestige steadily increased under the rule of Wellesley, who pursued his policy of entering into treaties with the minor states, to whom he lent British troops, the cost of which was defrayed by the borrowers. The Maráthas, however, were for some time a stumbling-block. The confederacy had many heads, and what one would consent to the other would not. Jealousy was rife in every quarter, and it seemed impossible to come to any arrangement that would satisfy alike the Peshwa, Baji Ráo, and Nána Farnavis, the Prime Minister at Poona, and the families of Sindhia, Bhonsla, and Holkar. Nána Farnavis died, and one enemy of Britain had gone ; yet the situation was not materially simplified. The rest were still divided among themselves, and some of the great houses were at war with one another. Holkar, in October 1802, defeated the Peshwa and Sindhia at Poona, and set a pretender on the throne. Shortly afterwards, the Peshwa, who had sought refuge

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 350.

with the British, entered with his hosts into a compact at Bassein, agreeing to make treaties only in accordance with British advice, and to employ, and pay for, a large British force.

HENRY ADDINGTON *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Downing Street: September 9, 1802

I have to acknowledge your Lordship's letter of the month of October by the *Georgiana* packet, and your subsequent communications by Colonel Harcourt and Colonel Monson.[1] It is my intention to write to you fully by Colonel Harcourt in the course of the ensuing week. In the meantime I think it material to avail myself of the overland despatch now preparing at the India House, for the purpose of expressing my earnest and anxious hope that at least you will not embark for Europe till you have received that full communication to which I have adverted. It is necessary that you should be distinctly and explicitly informed of the sentiments of His Majesty's confidential servants, and of the dispositions of the Court of Directors. These will be fully ascertained in the course of seven or eight days, and I trust they will prove to be such as will enable you to remain, during the ensuing year, with comfort and with honour, in a situation where your services have been most splendid and important, and where they will be peculiarly wanted under the circumstances that will arise in consequence of the restoration of peace.

[1] William Monson (1760-1807), son of John, second Baron Monson, saw much service in India, and was engaged prominently in the Marátha war.

I will only add that I am highly gratified by the kindness and confidence which you have manifested towards me in all your letters.[1]

HENRY ADDINGTON *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *Downing Street*
September 27, 1802

The substance of the communication which you will receive from the Court of Directors, in consequence of your letters to me of the 10th of January and the 13th of March, 1802, will, I trust, fully meet your wishes. I have great pleasure in accompanying it by an assurance, that His Majesty's confidential servants entertain a high sense of the magnitude and importance of your Lordship's services, and that nothing has come to their knowledge which will prevent them from giving their utmost support, both in and out of Parliament, to the measures of your Government, and to those which have been conducted by your directors at Fort St. George. Under these circumstances, they earnestly hope that you will be induced to remain in India till the end of the ensuing year, as they are thoroughly convinced that the government of that country cannot be administered, during that period, by any person whatever with so much authority and advantage as by yourself.[2]

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 367.
[2] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 373.

HENRY ADDINGTON *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Secret *Downing Street*
September 28, 1802

The disposition of Government, and of the Court of Directors, as it is manifested by the despatches which will be sent by Colonel Harcourt, will, I hope, remove all the impediments to your continuance in India another year, to which everyone with whom I have conversed attaches the greatest importance. Lord Castlereagh will, I am persuaded, be soon on such a footing with the Court of Directors as cannot fail to produce the best effects both in India and at home. I have the greatest satisfaction in thinking that you will experience them during the remaining period of your government.

You will learn from various quarters that an attack on some of your measures, and particularly (and, as I believe, exclusively) on the transactions in the Carnatic, is to be expected very early in the ensuing session; but, though considerable industry has been exerted to excite prejudices, no apprehension ought to be entertained of its ultimate effects. It will be repelled in the House of Lords by the members of Government in that House, by Lord Cornwallis, and, I need not add, by Lord Grenville, who, however, I must say, proposed to me, in the handsomest manner, that we should invent together the course that it would be most advisable to pursue. In the House of Commons, it is equally unnecessary for me to tell you, you will have the cordial and strenuous support of Pitt co-operating with that of Government.

Catterson Smith, delt. *R. J. Lane, A.R.A., lithog.*

HENRY ADDINGTON, 1ST VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH

Let me now thank you for the confidence and kindness which pervade all your letters, as far as I am personally concerned. Be assured that I shall be invariably actuated by reciprocal sentiments, and that I shall connect your honour and happiness with my own.

On the state of your family I heartily congratulate you; your eldest son is everything in person, manners, disposition, and acquirements that it is possible for you to wish; and when I saw Gerald, which was in January last, his great object seemed to be to follow his brother's example. I am sorry to mention so remote a period as the month of January, but you will readily believe that I have had little or no leisure during that interval. You will, I am sure, be glad to receive a good account of Mrs. Addington and my children. Harry has just left Winchester, where he has acquitted himself with great credit. Hilery desires to be most kindly remembered to you. He has been a greater comfort to me during the last eighteen months than it is possible for me to describe.

Of all your other friends I am enabled to give a favourable account. I cannot express to you the satisfaction afforded to Lord Hobart, as well as to myself, on finding that he was included in the number. Pitt's health and spirits had been long improving, and at last appeared to be quite re-established, when he had a very severe attack of illness. He is, however, completely recovered, and has determined to go to Bath during the present autumn. In all other respects he is *qualis ab incepto*.

I cannot conclude without adverting to the situation of Colonel Harcourt, the peculiarity and awkwardness of which you will learn from other quarters. It is, however, incumbent upon me to assure you that no practical inconvenience has resulted from it, as Lord Castlereagh and I had an opportunity of conversing with him before he went to Boulogne. I feel particularly anxious that he should not suffer in your opinion, as I do not know a more zealous and honourable man.

On public matters there is nothing to be communicated but what is satisfactory. The new Parliament will meet under the advantages of peace, and of a revenue and a harvest abundant beyond example. Before I close my letter, I must congratulate you on your financial prospects in India, which are favourable and encouraging to the greatest degree.[1]

THE HON. WILLIAM WELLESLEY-POLE *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Hanover Square : September 28, 1802

I am just come from Addington, with whom I have had a long conversation, and who is as desirous of forwarding all your wishes as possible. He was in the act of writing to you when I called upon him, and he showed me the part of his letter which was finished, and also a draft of the public letter he had written you with the full approbation of the Cabinet. They are both everything you could desire. Addington informed me that the moment he had read your despatches which

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 375.

Harcourt brought, he sent them to Lord Castlereagh, who he heard was at Lord Cornwallis'. This he did that Lord Castlereagh might discuss them with Lord Cornwallis, as he knew how much such a proceeding would please you. The result justified the goodness of his judgment and his kindness to you, for Lord Cornwallis urged most strongly the necessity of your remaining in India, and the most unqualified approbation of all your measures. Lord Castlereagh is equally strenuous for you, and, of course, Lord Cornwallis' opinion was very comfortable to Addington, and the knowledge of its being taken in the manner it was, I am certain, will be extremely gratifying to you. Addington informed me that everything was arranged with the Court of Directors about you entirely to his satisfaction, and they have given way upon all the points you required. Lord Castlereagh, he says, you may depend upon as your fast friend. It seems the Carnatic business is to be brought forward early in the session by Sheridan, but you will be strongly defended by all the members of administration, who, I believe, in Cabinet have pledged themselves to take the most active part. Lord Grenville and Lord Cornwallis will back them in the House of Lords, and Pitt and Dundas in the House of Commons. I heard with surprise from Addington that the Prince of Wales was violent against you, and said he would speak upon the subject of the Carnatic in the House of Lords. If he does Lord Ellenborough says he must take neighbour's fare, for he shall not spare him. His oracle, Tom Tyrwhitt, was violent for

you last winter, and assured me a hundred times that the Prince highly approved of your conduct. Possibly my voting against His Royal Highness' right to the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall may have changed him.

I showed Addington the whole of your letter to me, and he was as kind and as friendly about it as I could desire. You may rest satisfied that he has an eager wish to gratify you, and to raise your character in India, and I have no doubt but your suggestions as to further honours will be attended to in a manner most satisfactory to you. If you will allow me to advise, you will not say anything further on the subject to anybody, but wait, and let whatever may be done come spontaneously from the Crown. The Carnatic question must end most creditably for you, and when it is over any favour from the Crown will come with a much better grace and be more honourable than it could be at present. I hope you agree with me, and that you will not show any impatience or feel any disappointment at nothing being done at present.

Colonel Harcourt has been under the most unpleasant embarrassment ever since his arrival, in consequence of the villainy of an agent, which he could not have foreseen. He has been obliged to fly to Boulogne. However, he has met Addington and Lord Castlereagh at Eastbourne, and neither the service nor your interest has suffered by his misfortune. Addington assured me that he never saw a man more zealous, or more unhappy lest you should suppose he had neglected your business, or could have fancied himself

liable to what has happened when he undertook his expedition. He offered to remain in England at all hazards if Addington or Lord Castlereagh thought it necessary. Addington talks in the highest terms of him. He will be the bearer of this letter, as he goes overland back to you to-night; and I thought I owed it to him to explain that Ministers were perfectly satisfied with his conduct, and that your affairs had not suffered through his misfortunes. In fact, I am the only sufferer (except himself) by them, for I have never been able to see him. However, I flatter myself I have attended as much to the essential objects stated in your letter to me as I could have done had I been fortunate enough to have seen Colonel Harcourt. Addington seemed a little apprehensive that Lord Grenville would endeavour to induce you to come home. I, however, ventured to assure him you would not attend to any suggestion of his. You would be mad if you did so. The mode in which the Cabinet have now espoused your cause, the temper of Government towards you, the *present* conduct of the Court of Directors, the flourishing state into which you have brought the finances of India, the support you are certain of on the subject of the Carnatic, and the credit which must result to you from remaining where you are till all your plans are matured and have taken full effect, renders it certain that you have only to rest as you are to ensure your being one of the most powerful and most respected men in this country when you return to it. You might lose all, and can gain

nothing by coming away ; you risk scarcely anything, and lay a just claim on your country for everything by remaining. The Grenvilles are despised, and Pitt is as firmly with Addington as possible ; they must go hand in hand. My letter is already too long for an overland despatch. All is well here.[1]

LORD HOBART *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private and secret — *Roehampton*
November 14, 1802

You will probably be surprised that the official despatch which this letter accompanies should convey to you so early a decision to countermand the late orders for delaying the restitution of the French and Dutch settlements,[2] and I will endeavour to explain to you the reasons which have led to so sudden an alteration in the sentiments of the King's confidential servants. When the determination was formed to make a representation to the French Government upon the subject of Switzerland it was conceived that the people of that unfortunate country might have

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 379.

[2] The Peace of Amiens had been signed on October 1, 1801, and had been ratified on March 27, 1802. By it, as Lord Grenville said, "England gave up everything and France nothing." In Asia she was to have Pondicherry, Cochen, Negapatam, and the Spice Islands ; in Africa the Cape of Good Hope and Senegal ; in the West Indies Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curaçoa, and St. Domingo ; in America she was to keep Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo, and St. Pierre and Miquelon were to be restored to her. The Treaty was never fully carried out, as there was soon again trouble between Britain and France, and war between them was declared in May 1803.

found the means of resisting the outrageous attempt of Buonaparte to render the Swiss subservient to his power, and it was not thought improbable that they might be aided in any efforts they might be disposed to make for that purpose by the Emperor of Germany, who, just at that time, was manifesting a strong tendency to maintain by force the possession he had taken of Passau, and to withhold his acquiescence to the plan of indemnities which France, Russia, and Prussia were imposing upon the Empire. In such a situation of things it was thought not improbable that the interference of this country might have been brought forward with effect in order to afford some control upon the views of the Chief Consul upon the Continent, and it was resolved to have made the attempt, even at the hazard of a renewal of hostilities ; and whilst that question was at issue it was judged advisable to retain such of the possessions as had not been restored in conformity to the Treaty of Amiens, in our hands. The subsequent submission of the Swiss, and the Emperor's concurrence in the arrangement for the German indemnities with some trifling modification in favour of the Grand Duke, would sufficiently have disappointed all expectation of a continental effort to have rendered the policy of our further interference extremely questionable, even if another vicious truce had not occurred which forcibly suggested the expediency of avoiding the adoption of any measures that were likely to lead to an immediate rupture with the French Government.

The public prints will have informed you of the change of administration in Russia, and you will have read a variety of conjectures as to the effect it might be calculated to produce upon the councils of the Court of Petersburg. Upon that subject I can venture to assure you that there is the strongest reason to expect that the effect will be most favourable to the best interests of the European world, but as the system in contemplation cannot yet be developed without hazarding its ultimate success, and as nothing would be more likely to defeat it than a premature renewal of the war between this country and France, that circumstance, in addition to the other reasons which I have stated, has had a considerable influence upon the line of conduct we are now pursuing.

Having now given you a hasty sketch of the motives which have actuated the King's Ministers in the orders for the immediate restitution of the Dutch and French settlements, it remains for me to inform you that we have received intelligence from an authority which we believe is to be depended upon, that Buonaparte is extremely anxious to obtain possession of Goa, and that nothing is more probable than his endeavouring to intimidate the Court of Lisbon into a surrender of it to the French Government. He has already threatened the Portuguese with the full weight of his displeasure if Monsieur D'Almeida is not dismissed from his situation of Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon no better ground than because he granted a passport to General Lannes to return to France after a fifth application, alleging that he

would not have granted it at all if he had not been inclined to foment differences between the two Governments. To the peremptory demand of D'Almeida's dismissal an evasive answer has been given, and as Buonaparte has declared his determination not to *transiger* upon the subject, I should not be surprised if a sacrifice in territory was substituted for that of the Minister.

In the event, however, of Portugal being involved in hostilities, she will claim and probably receive support from this country.

Parliament meets on the 16th, but the King will not make his speech until the 23rd. The country is decidedly pacific, but some of the ablest men in both Houses, it is said, will charge Government with not having taken the necessary measures for preventing the aggrandisement of France. This, however, I am persuaded will show the expediency of the line we have pursued ; and I am perfectly certain that, unless the ground of war should be unquestionable, the country need not be brought to fear its renewal.

Lord Castlereagh will send you information upon all points respecting matters connected with the Government of India, and I trust will apprise you of his intentions with respect to Webbe. I have had several conversations with him upon that subject, and shall be most disappointed if both you and Webbe have not reason to be satisfied.

I have written until I am nearly asleep, it being very late, and Eleanor, desiring to be kindly remembered to you, suggests the idea of bringing my letter to a close.

P.S. Mr. Addington, to whom I mentioned my having written to you, desires me to say you would hear from him, but he really has not time.[1]

HENRY ADDINGTON *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Downing Street: March 18, 1803

I cannot forbear sending you a few lines by Colonel Monson, though my hopes of being able to write to you at length have been unavoidably disappointed.

We are at present in a state that is uncertain, and critical as to the result. The temper and disposition of the country are, however, perfectly good. The wish for peace is not accompanied by a dread of war, and the French Government has hitherto received no encouragement from any sentiments publicly expressed either in or out of Parliament. The newspapers will have conveyed to you the account of the King's message, and of the debates, or rather the descriptions, which followed it. Lord Hobart and Lord Castlereagh have, I understand, given letters for you to Colonel Monson. I will only add that your friends are all well. Pitt has been materially otherwise, but is recovered. He is, however, still at Walmer, and means to revisit Bath in the course of next month.

It is not possible for me to pay all the attentions I wish to Lady Wellesley and your family; you will, I am sure, pardon omissions, under circumstances which almost entirely exclude me from the society of those with whom I am living under the same roof. I congratulate you on the state

[1] Add. MSS. 37308 f. 385.

and prospects of India. They were clearly and ably [stated] by Lord Castlereagh on Monday in the House of Commons, and he renders you ample justice. Of Sheridan's promised motion we have heard nothing for some months. Adieu![1]

LORD HOBART *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *Downing Street*
March 18, 1803

Colonel Monson's sudden departure at a time when there is an unusual press of business must be my excuse for a very hasty letter, but I could not suffer him to leave England at so critical a period without sending you a few lines. The measures we are now taking have been the result of a thorough conviction that they afford the only chance of preserving peace, unless we could make up our minds to place this country in the same state of humiliation to the will of the Chief Consul as all the powers upon the Continent, except Russia; and you will require to know that, notwithstanding the eagerness with which peace was universally demanded, there exists at this moment as great and as cordial a disposition to support Government in a war, if it should be judged necessary, as ever has been manifested upon any former occasion. Buonaparte, having reckoned upon a very different disposition both in the administration and the people, is in a state of great mortification and disappointment, and being considerably under the influence of passion and vanity has not been able to conceal his feelings,

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 3.

as you will be able to learn more particularly from the extract which I enclose of a letter from a Swiss gentleman at Paris, who has resided many years in England. His account is so accurately confirmed by official authority that you may depend on its authenticity.

Whether our dissensions with the French Government are to end in war or not, it is very difficult to form a satisfactory opinion; but, although a maritime war would appear decidedly against the real interest of France, circumstanced as she is with respect to her navy and her colonies, there does not seem to be much hope that peace can be continued.

All speculations upon what such a man as Buonaparte will do under any circumstances must be too liable to error for us to trust to common reasoning upon any subject in which he is concerned. His intentions are warlike, his interest, in the view most people take of it, pacific: but as he is notoriously influenced by the utmost rancour and hatred of England, aggravated by the publications in our newspapers, which he has in vain called upon the Government to suppress, the only safe line for us to take is to be prepared for hostilities, and, indeed, I can see little expectation at present of their being avoided—unless the prevailing sentiment in France, which unquestionably is for the maintenance of peace, should be declared in a way that may alarm him for the safety of his own person and Government.

Webbe's business, which you may be afraid I am insufficiently pressing, is still before the Court

of Directors, but Lord Castlereagh tells me that it will be decided before the departure of Lord William Bentinck, though in what manner I cannot venture to anticipate.[1]

In May 1803 the Peshwa was restored, the British force being under the command of General Arthur Wellesley. The Marátha war was vigorously pursued, and was practically brought to a close by General Wellesley's great victory at Assaye, September 23, 1803. To Generals Wellesley and Lake the greatest credit was due for the splendid conduct of the military operations; but it must not be forgotten, as too often it is forgotten, that the controlling and directing influence was that of the Governor-General. He demanded implicit obedience. When Major Malcolm[2] protested against some order on the grounds that it might impair British credit for good faith, "Major Malcolm's business," said Wellesley regally, "is to obey my orders and enforce my instructions. *I* will look after the public interest."

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 6.

[2] John Malcolm (1769-1833), entered the East India Company's service in 1782. Wellesley sent him as envoy to Persia, 1799-1801; and on his return from that mission made him his private secretary, 1801-1802. He was political agent to General Wellesley during the Marátha war. He was knighted in 1815, and returned to England seven years later. His principal publications were the *Political History of India*, 1811, and a *History of Persia*, 1818.

HENRY ADDINGTON *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Secret *Downing Street*
September 9, 1803

I look back with regret and shame upon the interval which has passed since I last addressed you ; and with the more, as you have not afforded the example of suspending your communications to your friends on account of the pressure of public business. That the interval has been one of continued exertion and anxiety it cannot be necessary for me to assure you ; of the circumstances which have rendered the greatest part of it peculiarly painful, from personal as well as public considerations, you will have heard with heartfelt concern. I shall forbear from entering into them, nor shall I say more of the feelings which they have excited in my friend than that they would be intolerable if the slightest sensation of self-reproach made a part of them.

Lord Castlereagh has written fully and unreservedly to your Lordship on a subject of great and urgent importance, and Mr. H. Wellesley will convey to you such information as may be material in forming your judgment upon the point of your continuance in India beyond the time proposed for your departure, or the accomplishment of your intention, conceived and declared under very different circumstances, of quitting the Government in the month of January 1804. There are few persons, I am convinced, who, under the present circumstances, would wish to see that government in any hands but your own ; there are no circumstances which I can suppose to be

possible under which I should not feel extreme anxiety at seeing it transferred to any other person whatever ; and this I say with sentiments of genuine respect for the talents and character of the individual who is likely to succeed you. These are the opinions of Lord Castlereagh, and, as I firmly believe, of every member of the Government. If, therefore, it should be your determination to remain in India till a change is likely to be less inconvenient and hazardous to the public interests, I trust it cannot be necessary to assure you of our cordial and strenuous support.

I am concerned to think that the life which I have led for upwards of two years has precluded those attentions which it was my earnest wish to pay to Lady Wellesley and your children. The accounts which you have received of them must have been gratifying to you in the greatest degree.

For a considerable time there was rather a large share of illness in my family, but of late, thank God, all have been in perfect health. My son goes to Christ Church in October. Hiley is quite as well as usual, and has resumed a military character, as the commander of a Volunteer Corps of 1,000 men, called the Mendip Legion.

It is impossible to convey to you an adequate idea of the spirit which universally animates the country. The number of Regulars, Militia, and army of Reserve in Great Britain will amount by the end of this month (when the latter will be completed) to 140,000 men, and of volunteers, whose services have been accepted, to upwards of

300,000; and they might be increased to any amount.[1]

LORD HOBART *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *Downing Street*
December 12, 1803

Although I do not consider an overland conveyance under present circumstances as a very safe mode of communication, having this moment received an intimation that a despatch for India will be sent on to-morrow, I cannot forego the opportunity of writing a few lines.

Our situation is one certainly of great anxiety, but I cannot say of apprehension.[2] Buonaparte is so pledged to make an attack upon this country or Ireland, and indeed both, that I do not well see how he can avoid it without falling into a degree of disgrace that may be very inconvenient to him. On the other hand, he knows that which is apparent to the whole world, that we never were in such a state to receive him. The means placed by Parliament in the hands of Government, and the exertions which have been made by all ranks and descriptions of people, have provided a power of resistance that is not to be surmounted by any power that can be expected to land in this country; and with respect to Ireland, the novel precautions taken both on her own coast and that of France are such as to encourage the expectation that no

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 11.

[2] War had been declared between Great Britain and France on May 18, 1803. The outlook was far from hopeful for this country, Napoleon seeming to be impregnable everywhere in Europe, except in Russia.

considerable expedition can escape them; and even if it should, the regular force stationed there, supported by a large and respectable body of Yeomanry, furnish the means of opposing the enemy, that I am persuaded will be fully equal to the contest, succoured as they will be in a very short time from England and Scotland.

The interior of Ireland can never be contemplated with satisfaction; but however we must always lament that the late insurrection was attended by the murder of Lord Kilwarden,[1] the consequences produced by it may certainly be deemed fortunate. The declarations of the leaders who were executed, the support given to Government by every man who had property, and the limited extent to which the conspirators had been able to carry out their plans, must operate beneficially in future, and will at least have the effect of preventing the rebels from having that reliance on their own numerical strength which has hitherto afforded them much encouragement—for separation from Great Britain is, I am afraid, a sentiment which has prevailed very far in Ireland, but the substitution of French connection is not popular. I am inclined to credit the reports we receive from France of Buonaparte's situation being rather precarious, and they assert that symptoms of dissatisfaction have shown themselves in the only quarter where they can be of importance, the

[1] Arthur Wolfe, first Viscount Kilwarden (1739-1803), Lord Chief Justice of Ireland from 1798. Driving from his country house to Dublin Castle on the night of the Emmet insurrection, July 23, 1803, he was murdered in his carriage by some insurgents.

army. The invasion of England is not so popular as might have been expected from the hope of pillage and plunder that has been held out to them, and it is said that at this season of the year they do not anticipate the probability of being drowned without sensations that are not quite comfortable.

The Chief Consul has no reason to be satisfied with appearances in the north, particularly at Petersburg, but I do not venture, after all the disappointments that this country has met with, to hazard a speculation on foreign politics. The power and intrigue of France have so baffled all calculations, that, although we must always look to a combination of the great Powers upon the Continent as calculated to be productive of the most salutary consequences, my mind is not sufficiently sanguine to reckon upon such an event until I see it absolutely accomplished.

You will see an extraordinary publication in the newspapers, a correspondence between the King, Prince of Wales, Duke of York, and Mr. Addington upon the subject of the Prince's serving in the army ; and when you read it you will recollect that the Prince has instructed his friends to say that he is not privy to the publication. I spoke to the Duke of York on the receipt of your letter respecting Mr. Briscoe, and was informed that he was already a captain, but his brother, Arthur, whose conduct cannot be too strongly commended, is placed on the staff in India. Pole's official ability is spoken of in the highest terms. The Ordnance department have not been without their

share of labour for the last six months. The situation of the French in St. Domingo (if they were not French) I should say was deplorable. Their continuance there was out of the question when the last accounts came away.[1]

Holkar was now the strongest enemy with which the British had to contend, and in April 1804 Lake and Arthur Wellesley were directed to proceed against him. Rámpura was captured on May 16, but the defeat of Colonel Monson was a great blow, and encouraged the enemy, who had rarely routed their foe. Holkar seized Hindustan, but the capital, Indore, was soon taken by Colonel Murray, and Holkar withdrew, laying waste the country round. Holkar was defeated at Dig by General Frazer on November 12, and again three days later at Farrukhábád by Lake.

THE HON. GERALD WELLESLEY *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Henrietta Street: *May* 24, 1804

I cannot resist writing you five lines to congratulate you on your great and brilliant successes, and to assure you that nothing can have made a greater sensation than they have done here. I am sorry to say that I am afraid you must be satisfied with your great reputation, for as to those scoundrels, the Directors, ever doing you justice, you must not expect it. Pole, who writes to you

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 15.

by this messenger, will give you a much better account than I can do of what passed at the India House on Tuesday, but it will give you satisfaction to know that the conduct of the Company towards you is universally reprobated.

I saw Lord Dartmouth[1] yesterday, who desired me to inform you that he had received your letter and obeyed your commands, and that the King had received your *Gazettes* most graciously. He also desired me to congratulate you for him on your success. Poor Henry is so ill that he is incapable of writing, which he meant to have done by this messenger. His complaint is rheumatic, and although he is very much reduced and still suffers a great deal of pain, yet the physicians say he is recovering and is in no danger. He is appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury. I cannot conclude my letter, my dear Wellesley, without again thanking you for the handsome present you sent me by Henry, and assuring you of my gratitude for it. I am going on in the old parsonic way, that is, have a wife and one child, and am in daily expectation of another; am intolerably poor, but, that excepted, as happy as possible. I long to introduce Lady Emily to you, and cannot help flattering myself you will like her. Henry desires me to tell you that Lord Castlereagh is to call on him before the despatch goes, and that if he does he will endeavour to

[1] George Legge (1755-1810), known by the courtesy title of Lord Lewisham during the lifetime of his father, was President of the Board of Control, 1801, in which year he succeeded as (third) Earl of Dartmouth. He was Lord Chamberlain, 1804.

write you a few lines. God bless you, my dear Wellesley.[1]

Richard Wellesley *to* The Marquess Wellesley

London: June 10, 1804

I am now making a stay in London of a few days, for a reason which I am sure will not displease you. The Arabian horses, which you have had the goodness to send to me, have arrived safely in London, and I was so impatient to obtain a sight of them, that my mother granted me a remission of a few days from severe studies, to gratify my impatience. Everything which comes from India brings with it a peculiar interest and recommendation to me; but, independent of this consideration, these animals have in themselves sufficient qualities to raise my admiration and to engage my affections. They are by far the most beautiful of their kind, in my opinion, and appear to possess very gentle and tractable dispositions, though as yet they have not been ridden by anyone, their play being too rough for English grooms. They shall have all proper care paid to them, and, as I hope, will survive the arrival of the donor of this princely present to his native country.

I was principally induced to seize the opportunity of writing to you by some ships which are waiting for a favourable wind, because I desired very much to inform you that I am at length promoted to the sixth form, and expect to make

[1] Add. MSS. 37315 f. 27.

my first appearance on the oratorical boards in a fortnight. This promotion has taken place much later, I believe, than you expected, but as you are perfectly acquainted with the system pursued at Eton, I need not acquaint you with the causes of its retardment. The prospect is discouraging in the extreme, but you know that if a few blockheads choose to become fixtures, as it were, in the College, they effectually prevent the advancement of those who have the misfortune to be inferior in age and place. Having, however, once toiled to the summit, I must beg your advice with respect to the studies which you wish me to follow more particularly, and which are necessary to qualify me for a student at Christ Church, and eventually for the character which I am to sustain in life. I have consulted with Lord Grenville with regard to the period of my removal to Oxford, and he is of opinion that I must quit Eton about next Christmas, when a studentship may be procured, since I cannot stay so long in the sixth form as you wished, on account of the advanced age at which I enter it. I shall, however, turn the little time I have to the best possible account, more particularly as I am thoroughly convinced of its importance. I have been sent up for good once more since my last letter to you, and have likewise made my first essay in Greek poetry. Of the latter, you must know, I am rather vainglorious ; it was a voluntary attempt, and gained me great commendations from Goodall ; as for the other masters, I hold their praise or indifference of very little value. You shall have both the exercises by the very next

ship. Lord Grenville has selected a speech for me at election from the peroration of the Milo. I like it very much and have no doubt that it will meet with your approbation likewise, as will the letter of Lord Grenville, of which I send you a copy. It was written to me on the occasion of his making me a present of Lord Chatham's Letters, which he has lately published. My private opinion is, that the preface is much the most valuable part of the work, and that the generality of the letters are not sufficiently important for the Press; some, however, are certainly not unworthy of Lord Chatham, as you will find on perusing them. I could not have traced a plan more suitable to my wishes than that which accompanied your last letter; particularly with respect to travelling in the long vacation. I agree with you in thinking it necessary that a man should see something of his own country before he visits foreign parts. Part of this plan I shall put into execution next summer. I am going to Somerford in Staffordshire, the house of Mr. Monckton; from thence I go into Yorkshire and Derbyshire to visit some Eton friends. My horses will accompany me, so that I shall pass over nothing worth seeing. Do not be surprised if you hear of a new publication forthcoming entitled A Tour through Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, etc., made during the course of last summer, with topographical, explanatory, extraordinary charts! and actual surveys of all the beautiful spots which struck the fancy of the author!

The notes on the Marátha war which you sent

to Europe, and which have been lately published, have effected a great and sudden change in the public opinion. I used to hear the justice and policy of it attacked from all quarters, but now its bitterest enemies are silent, and universal approbation is the order of the day. That it was conducted wisely and successfully none could ever deny; but the doubt seemed whether there were sufficient grounds for beginning it. The clear manner in which you have stated those grounds, in which you have represented the danger hanging over the British possessions, and the only means which could avert it, must convince the most obstinate, and confirm the doubtful. Colonel Sims has also written an excellent pamphlet on the subject. I have begun to make Indian affairs more than formerly my study, that I may be able to converse with you on your return with some reason and information on the measures which have raised and established your reputation, and on their probable consequences assuring security and peace to the British interests. Recommend to me any books which you think can give me the best and most extensive knowledge of the Indies in general and of the rise and increase of the British power and dominion. I am at present reading Orme's *History*. The changes of Ministry are so quick,[1] and such persons are raised to the offices of state, that I think it not improbable I may become myself in the course of things a *Premier*, and direct the helm of this

[1] Addington retired in May 1804, and Pitt became Prime Minister.

Empire. *Premier* or *Dernier*, I shall still be your affectionate son . . .

My brother Gerald is inscribed an Etonian. He has been placed in the remove, but having passed through a trial with great success, expects daily to be in the fifth.[1]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH

June 19, 1804

Your Lordship may be assured that I entertain a just sense of the sentiments of public and private honour from which your conduct towards me has proceeded, and that I rely with the utmost confidence upon your Lordship's justice and public spirit to frustrate the vindictive profligacy of the Court of Directors, and to expose to the view of my Sovereign and my country, in the most distinct and perspicuous manner, the motives, principles, conduct, and result of every branch of my administration in India. My sincere and anxious hope is, that every point of difference between me and the Court of Directors may be fully explained to Parliament and to the public. Nor can your Lordship and Mr. Addington, by any act of friendship, afford me a protection so grateful to my feelings, or so advantageous to my character, as by a full disclosure to Parliament of every act of my administration, and of every proceeding of the Court of Directors, since I have had the misfortune to be subjected to the ignominious tyranny of Leadenhall Street. I am

[1] Add. MSS. 37315 f. 29.

induced to hope that I shall be enabled to relinquish the service of my honourable employers in the month of January or February next. Your Lordship, however, may be assured, that as no symptoms of tardy remorse displayed by the Honourable Court in consequence of my recent success in India will vary my present estimation of the faith and honour of my worthy and approved good masters, or protract my continuance in India for one hour beyond the limits prescribed by the public interests, so no additional outrage, injury, or insult which can issue from the most loathsome den of the India House, will accelerate my departure while the public safety shall appear to require my aid in this arduous station.[1]

LORD CAMDEN *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Arlington Street: November 29, 1804

I have informed your Lordship in my separate and public dispatch of the probability of a rupture with the Court of Madrid, and I think it very likely that, if the letters which are to be sent to you by this conveyance shall not be ready by to-morrow, when they are ordered to be sent to the India House, the delay of a few days may bring your Lordship the actual conclusion of the negotiation which has been carrying on at Madrid.

From all the circumstances which have come to the knowledge of the King's Ministers, as well as from the probable policy of the French Government, it seems almost certain that Spain will be

[1] Pearce: *Wellesley*, ii. 361.

J. Hoppner, R.A., pinxt. *G. Adcock, sculpt.*

JOHN JEFFREYS PRATT, IST MARQUESS CAMDEN

obliged to enter into the war; and as Admiral Cochrane has communicated to the Admiralty the report of Mr. Frere's[1] having left Madrid, which he was ordered to do, in case of his not receiving a favourable answer to his representations, it appears probable that many days will not elapse before I shall be able to inform you of actual hostilities having commenced.

As it will be interesting to you to be informed of the circumstances which have led to this rupture, I have enclosed to you, in the original of this letter which goes by the sea conveyance, a statement of the whole case from the commencement of the war with France, which will apprise your Lordship of all the circumstances of this case to the present period; and I request you to consider this communication as entirely and strictly confidential.[2]

It will be seen from Gerald Wellesley's letter of May 24, 1804, that the Governor-General of India was not in high favour with the Directors at Leadenhall Street. Indeed, the controlling spirits were at once frightened and angry. They were angry because Wellesley made appointments "for merit," irrespective of the wishes of the India House, which cherished its patronage. They were frightened because Wellesley was regarding India from the Imperial rather than the commercial

[1] John Hookham Frere (1769-1846), Envoy-Extraordinary at Madrid, 1802-1804.

[2] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 21.

point of view, and, by extending the British possessions in the peninsula, was vastly increasing their obligations and responsibilities. The tension was considerable, and Wellesley remained at his post only owing to the urgent solicitations of the Government. Early in 1805 the Court of Directors censured Wellesley for (i) Disobedience of the Court's orders, and acting in the greatest affairs without the sanction of the Government at home ; (ii) Illegal appointments, and evasions of law ; and (iii) Profuse expenditure of the public money. On receipt of this despatch, Wellesley at once resigned his post, and sailed for England on August 15, " with his work still incomplete," says that great authority on Indian affairs, the Rev. W. H. Hutton, " but having accomplished more than any of his predecessors, and established throughout India the ascendancy of the British power."

BOOK III

RETURN TO ENGLAND

1806-1808

BOOK III

RETURN TO ENGLAND. 1806-1808

Wellesley sails from India : His whole-hearted devotion to his duty : His autocratic nature : The difference between a Governor-General in office and in retirement : His arrival in England : His reception on landing : His mother greets him : A letter from Pitt welcoming him : He visits Pitt at Putney : The impeachment of Lord Melville : The death of Pitt : Letter to William Wilberforce : Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed Colonel of the 33rd Regiment : Sir W. Sidney Smith : Wellesley's indignation when he learns that his policy is to be attacked in the House of Commons : James Paull : Wilberforce on Indian affairs : The charges against Wellesley printed by order of the House of Commons : The death of Fox : Grenville endeavours to induce Canning to join the ministry : Letters of Canning, Grenville, and Wellesley : The Duke of Portland becomes Prime Minister : He invites Wellesley to take the Foreign Office : The offer declined : The motion impugning his conduct negatived by an overwhelming majority : A counter-resolution approving his conduct carried : Letters from the Marquess of Buckingham, Lord Castlereagh, and the Duke of Portland : The battle of Vimiera.

WELLESLEY sailed from India on August 5, 1805, and arrived in England early in the following January. He had gone out eight years earlier a man of seven-and-thirty, promoted from a minor position to the high office of Governor-General. He had gone out, eager to conquer fame for himself, and no less eager to render, so far as it lay in his power,

yeoman's service to his country. During the years of absence from his native land he had devoted himself wholeheartedly to his duties, and had made the power of England as widely realised in India as it had been during the rule of the most famous of his predecessors. In that period, too, unfortunately for himself, he had become almost intolerably arbitrary. No dog must bark when he spoke; all men must abide by his decision. To differ from his opinion was in his eyes the cardinal sin. "Lord Wellesley was spoken of by His Majesty as having *considerable* merit in the conduct of affairs in India, but as inflated with pride, and with his own consequence; assuming to himself the *exclusive* merit of all that had been done in the East, and demanding ceremonious respect much beyond what was due to his station. That when he had more than once been reminded that he was exacting from those around him more than the King did, his Lordship replied, 'Then the King is wrong; but that is no reason why I should improperly relax also.' His Majesty added, 'When he returns, his head will be quite turned, and there will be no enduring him.'"[1] Nowadays, the Viceroy, a man at the end of a telegraph wire, can to some extent be kept within bounds by the Home Government. When Wellesley was in India it was a year before he could get a reply to a

[1] George Rose: *Diaries*, ii. 165.

despatch, and events moved too quickly to await instructions. The Governor-General in those days was, of necessity, an autocrat. He had to act on his own initiative ; he had to settle things for himself. He was not indeed the final court of appeal : application could be made to Leadenhall Street, but in small matters it was absurd to appeal, and in larger matters more often than not, when the Directors' pronouncement arrived, it could not be made effective. A war could not be undone, a treaty could not be broken.

A retired pro-consul is always a sad figure, and the pathos of his situation was borne in upon Wellesley on his arrival. "Lady Wellesley and her children awaited him on landing, and several private friends pressed round him with kind welcomes," Torrens has written. "The Port Admiral was also there, and certain military officials eager to see the little man of whom they had heard so much, and of being able to say that he had shaken them by the hand, a familiarity the thought of which had never occurred to him. There was, in short, no lack of fuss and even of affection ; enough to content any ordinary general or envoy returning home. But he was neither. He had been playing king until the rarefied atmosphere of kingship had become so habitual that the murk of commonplace in the best room of the best inn in a half-lighted seaport town almost stifled him. Had the successor of

Aurangzib come to this? There he was, with wife and children, and two or three friends from town, after all his impersonation of paramount power and impersonation of Oriental magnificence, made much of by vulgar waiters just like any other Irish marquess on his travels. He did his best to look pleased and be gracious, but his mortification was unspeakable; and ere dinner-time was half over he broke out into expletives of impatience that made the circle stare. Hyacinthe (his wife), forgetting all that had changed their lot in life since the time when as a youthful and hardly known official he had sat at her feet adoringly, said, with an unlucky laugh: 'Ah, you must not think you are in India still, where everybody ran to obey you. They mind nobody here.' The disenchantment was complete. He rose early from table and withdrew, saying he was ill and must be left alone; nor could any subsequent explanation or expostulation mend the matter. It was the foretaste of a long course of disappointment and vexation, wholly unanticipated, that was in store for him."[1]

LADY MORNINGTON[2] *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Hampton Court Palace: January 9, 1806

Welcome, my dearest Wellesley, to England! I trust you are come in health and spirits. I think it would be a sort of indiscretion to interrupt the

[1] Torrens: *Wellesley*, 300.
[2] Wellesley's mother.

delight you must feel in seeing your charming family—else I should, the moment I heard the *Howe* was coming into port, have put myself into a post-chaise and set off for Portsmouth; but I trust we shall soon meet. A few lines to let me know how you are will oblige me much. If you go to London before Tuesday next, you must pass very near this palace, and might as well change horses here as at Kingston. If you would let me know I would have breakfast or some refreshment ready for you.[1]

LORD AUCKLAND *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Park Place: January 10, 1806

I rejoice with Lady Auckland in the news of your return, and we hope that you arrive with unimpaired health and even with an improved constitution. I further rejoice in your coming, because you left India in an auspicious moment, when the energies and wisdom of your government had accomplished the system which you had greatly planned and gloriously pursued.

In some other points of view your return to England is not a subject of congratulation. You will find many grievous changes; several of your more intimate friends are by a discordancy of opinion and other circumstances irrevocably separated from each other. We are engaged in a war of boundless expense, some peril, and incalculable duration. Our continental influence and interests are lost and undone, and with this unpromising state of affairs, and under a pressure of other obvious difficulties, the session seems likely to

[1] Add. MSS. 37315 f. 38.

bring forward a conflict of parties beyond what has happened in our times.

I write from Lord Malmesbury's, where we are passing a couple of days on our return from Blenheim to Eden Farm. We shall not settle in town before February, but I will take the first opportunity of waiting on you, whenever I can learn that more urgent business will allow you to see me without inconvenience.

I learn from every quarter that your eldest son is a young man of the very first-rate description and character. He has carried with him through Eton and Oxford that progressive superiority of talent which Mr. Roberts, of Mitcham, saw and announced at a very early period.[1]

WILLIAM PITT *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Putney Hill: January 12, 1806

On my arrival here last night I received with inexpressible pleasure your most friendly and affectionate letter. If I was not strongly advised to keep out of London till I have regained a little more strength, I would have come up immediately for the purpose of seeing you at the first possible moment. As it is, I am afraid I must trust to your goodness to give me the satisfaction of seeing you here the first hour you can spare for that purpose. If you can without inconvenience make it about the middle of the day (in English style, between two and four) it would suit me rather better than any other time; but none can be

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 38.

inconvenient.[1] I am recovering rather slowly from a series of stomach complaints followed by severe attacks of gout, but I believe I am now in the way of real amendment.[2]

VISCOUNT MELVILLE[3] *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

48, *Conduit Street: January* 21, 1806

William Dundas has just informed me of your Lordship's kind intention of calling upon me. I have come purposely from Bath (where Lady Melville is) to appear to-morrow in the House of Lords, and I shall return again on Thursday. I shall be at home till pretty late in the forenoon to-morrow. If I went anywhere I would certainly call upon your Lordship, but for these many months past I have rather made it a rule to avoid the society of peers. You will not misconstrue my motives. On your return you will have already witnessed many changes certainly unlooked for when you left us. I hope Heaven will guard and restore to us our friend at Putney [William Pitt]. There is scarcely anything to which a determined fortitude of mind is not equal, but for such a loss to his country and his friends the spirits can devise no species of consolation.[4]

[1] Shortly after the receipt of this letter Wellesley visited Pitt at Putney. Pitt died on January 23.

[2] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 48.

[3] Melville, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty, resigned his office in April 1805, on being charged with malversation. He was impeached, and the proceedings commenced on April 29, 1806. On the following June 12 the peers acquitted him on all charges.

[4] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 63.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* EARL BATHURST

January 22, 1806

I received last night the afflicting intelligence[1] which you deplore, and it was confirmed to me this morning by Lord Melville and Farquhar. Since I received your note I have an account from Farquhar as late as four this evening, which brings no hope. You have relieved me from the embarrassment of writing an excuse to you for to-morrow; I know not how we can ever meet again but with sorrow and pain. Lord Melville's affliction to-day is not to be described, and I never beheld any man more overwhelmed with grief than Grenville, who this morning desired to see me, but could scarcely speak to me; his heart is full of grief.[2]

For Pitt, Wellesley had both a great admiration and respect, and in later years he yielded to an urgent request to indite, in the form of a private letter, a character sketch of his friend, which was inserted by Croker in his essay on Wraxall's *Posthumous Memoirs*[3]:

In attempting to convey to you my recollection of Mr. Pitt's character in private society, I cannot separate those qualities which raised him to the highest public eminence from those which rendered him a most amiable companion. Both proceeded from the same origin, and both

[1] The intelligence of the approaching end of William Pitt, who died the next day.

[2] Add. MSS. 37314 f. 10.

[3] *Quarterly Review*, lviii.

were happily blended in the noble structure of his temper and disposition.

Mr. Pitt's mind was naturally inaccessible to any approach of dark or low or ignoble passion. His commanding genius and magnanimous spirit were destined to move in a region far above the reach of those jealousies and suspicions and animosities which disturb the course of ordinary life. Under the eye of his illustrious father he had received that "complete and generous education which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war."

Such an education, acting on such a natural disposition, not only qualified him to adorn the most elevated station in the counsels of his country, but furnished him with abundant resources to sustain the tranquillity and cheerfulness of his mind.

He had received regular and systematic instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, and in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and in every branch of general ecclesiastical history. His knowledge in those subjects was accurate and extensive. He was completely armed against all sceptical assaults, as well as against all fanatical illusion; and, in truth, he was not merely a faithful and dutiful, but a learned member of our Established Church, to which he was most sincerely attached, with the most charitable indulgence for all dissenting sects.

No doubt can exist in any rational mind that this early and firm settlement of his religious

opinions and principles was a main cause of that cheerful equanimity which formed the great characteristic of his social intercourse, and which was never affected by adversities nor troubles.

He was perfectly accomplished in classical literature, both Latin and Greek. The accuracy and strength of his memory surpassed every example which I have observed; but the intrinsic vigour of his understanding carried him far beyond the mere recollection of the great models of antiquity in oratory, poetry, history, and philosophy: he had drawn their essence into his own thoughts and language, and, with astonishing facility, he applied the whole spirit of ancient learning to his daily use.

These studies were his constant delight and resort; at Holwood in Kent (his favourite residence), and at Walmer Castle, his apartments were strewed with Latin and Greek classics; his conversation with those friends who delighted in similar studies frequently turned on that most attractive branch of literature; but he was so averse to pedantry or affectation of superior knowledge, that he carefully abstained from such topics in the presence of those who could not take pleasure in them. In these pursuits his constant and congenial companion was Lord Grenville, who has often declared to me that Mr. Pitt was the *best Greek scholar* he ever conversed with. Mr. Pitt was also as complete a master of all English literature as he was undoubtedly of the English language. I have dwelt on this branch of Mr. Pitt's accomplishments

because I know not any source from which more salutary assistance can be derived to chase from the spirits those clouds and vapours which infest vacant minds, and, by self-weariness, render retirement melancholy and intolerable.

But Mr. Pitt possessed every resource which could enliven retirement. No person had a more exquisite sense of the beauties of the country. He took the greatest delight in his residence at Holwood, which he enlarged and improved (it may be truly said) with his own hands. Often have I seen him working in his woods and gardens with his labourers for whole days together, undergoing considerable bodily fatigue, and with so much eagerness and assiduity, that you would suppose the cultivation of his villa to be the principal occupation of his life.

He was very fond of exercise on horseback, and when in the country frequently joined the hounds of his neighbourhood, both at Holwood and Walmer Castle.

At the latter place he lived most hospitably, entertaining all his neighbours, as well as the officers of the neighbouring garrisons and of the ships in the Downs ; and he was most attentive to his duties of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which called him frequently to Dover, and sometimes to other places.

But in all places, and at all times, his constant delight was society. There he shone with a degree of calm and steady lustre which often astounded me more than his most splendid efforts in Parliament. His manners were perfectly plain,

without any affectation. Not only was he without presumption or arrogance, or any air of authority, but he seemed utterly unconscious of his own superiority, and much more disposed to listen than to talk. He never betrayed any symptom of anxiety to usurp the lead or to display his own powers, but rather inclined to draw forth others, and to take merely an equal share in the general conversation. Then he plunged heedlessly into the mirth of the hour, with no other care than to promote the general good humour and happiness of the company. His wit was quick and ready; but it was rather lively than sharp, and never envenomed with the least taint of malignity; so that, instead of exciting admiration or terror, it was an additional ingredient in the common enjoyment. He was endowed, beyond any man of his time whom I knew, with a gay heart and a social spirit. With these qualities he was the life and soul of his own society. His appearance dispelled all care: his brow was never clouded, even in the severest public trials, and joy and hope and confidence beamed from his countenance in every crisis of difficulty and danger.

He was a most affectionate, indulgent, and benevolent friend, and so easy of access that all his acquaintances, in any embarrassment, would rather resort to him for advice than to any person who might be supposed to have more leisure. His heart was always at leisure to receive the communications of his friends, and always open to give the best advice in the most gentle and pleasant manner.

It is a melancholy but a grateful task to pay this tribute to the memory of my departed friend. *Aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit*—or the character which I have endeavoured to draw is not less just and true than it is amiable and excellent; and I cannot resist the conclusion that a pure and clear conscience must have been the original source of uniform cheerfulness and gaiety of spirit. The truth which I have asserted I possess ample means of knowing. From the year 1783 to 1797 I lived in habits of the most confidential friendship with Mr. Pitt.

In the year 1797 I was appointed Governor-General of India, and in the month of September in that year I went to Walmer Castle to meet Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, and to receive my last instructions. I found Mr. Pitt in the highest spirits, entertaining officers and country gentlemen with his usual hospitality. Amongst others, Admiral Duncan was his constant and favourite guest. His fleet was then in the Downs, preparing for the memorable victory of Camperdown. The Admiral was a lively and jovial companion, and seemed to be quite delighted with Mr. Pitt's society. I embarked for India early in the month of November 1797, and I returned to England in January 1806.

Not wishing to state anything beyond my own personal knowledge, I will not attempt to relate the history of Mr. Pitt's social habits during the period of my absence; but I cannot believe that, during that time, the whole frame of his magnificent mind had been so broken and

disjointed that he could not endure the temporary loss of power, not reconcile himself to that retirement and to those recreations which were his relief from the labour of official business, and his consolation in the hour of political solicitude and care. But I know that the first summer after his resignation was passed with Mr. Addington at Wimbledon, and that soon afterwards Mr. Pitt was closely occupied at Walmer Castle in forming a corps of volunteer cavalry, living with his officers, and passing the greater part of his time on horseback, under the firm expectation of a French invasion. This does not well agree with the story which represents him wrapped in utter seclusion, sunk in despondency, shunning all society, and yet unable to relieve the gloom of solitude by any mental resource.

On my arrival in England, in January 1806, Mr. Pitt was at Bath. I wrote to him and received from him a very kind invitation to meet him at Putney Hill. . . . I met him accordingly, in the second week in January, and I was received by him with his usual kindness and good humour. His spirits appeared to be as high as I had ever seen them, and his understanding quite as vigorous and clear.

Amongst other topics, he told me with great kindness and feeling that, since he had seen me, he had been happy to become acquainted with my brother Arthur, of whom he spoke in the warmest terms of commendation. He said, "I never met any military officer with whom it was so easy to converse: he states every difficulty

before he undertakes any service, but none after he has undertaken it."

But notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's kindness and cheerfulness, I saw that the hand of death was fixed upon him. This melancholy truth was not known nor believed by either his friends or opponents. In the number of the latter, to my deep affliction, I found my highly-respected and esteemed friend, Lord Grenville, and I collected that measures of the utmost hostility to Mr. Pitt were to be proposed in both Houses at the meeting of Parliament.

I warned Lord Grenville of Mr. Pitt's approaching death. He received the fatal intelligence with the utmost feeling, in an agony of tears, and immediately determined that all hostility in Parliament should be suspended. Mr. Pitt's death soon followed.

If any additional evidence were required of the excellence of his social character, it would be found abundantly in the deep sorrow of a most numerous class of independent, honest, and sincerely attached friends, who wept over the loss of his benevolent and affectionate temper and disposition with a degree of heartfelt grief which no political sentiment could produce. Many of these were assembled at the sad ceremony of his funeral. With them I paid the last offices to his honoured memory. We attended him to Westminster Abbey; there the grave of his illustrious father was opened to receive him, and we saw his remains deposited on the coffin of his venerated parent. What grave contains such a father and such a son? What sepulchre embosoms the

remains of so much human excellence and glory ?

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* LORD GRENVILLE [1]

Park Lane : January 23, 1806

In the present state of public affairs, I think it necessary to apprise you, at the earliest moment, of my determination to co-operate with you in the great work of endeavouring to surmount the difficulties and dangers which surround the country. It will be sufficient to explain that, in my judgment, no administration can prove equal to the present exigency, which shall exclude any description of persons distinguished by public talents or virtues from His Majesty's councils, and that I will not lend my aid to any administration formed upon such a principle of exclusion.

Understanding that some persons now acting with you have manifested a disposition to investigate the state of that branch of the Empire which was lately entrusted to my charge, I assure you that I shall never object to any examination of that subject which may be deemed advantageous to the national interests or honour. On the other hand, it is proper to apprise you of my resolution to maintain and assert in every situation the principles which directed my conduct in the government of India.[2]

[1] William Wyndham Grenville, Baron Grenville (1759-1834), the head of " All the Talents " Ministry, 1806-1807.

[2] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 75.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

Park Lane: January 24, 1806

I have been so distressed for some days by the dreadful calamity which has fallen upon us [the death of Pitt] that I have not had spirits sufficient to enable me either to call upon you or to write to you. But I am sincerely and warmly sensible of your kindness, and of the particular cordiality of your very friendly and affectionate note, to which, perhaps, I could scarcely plead a claim after so long an apparent neglect of the kind letters which I received from you in India. I trusted, however, much to your candour and justice, expecting that you would make great allowances for the extreme labour of my public situation, which, for the last three years, scarcely left me time even to write to my family, and obliged me to renounce all private correspondence.

I am extremely anxious to have the pleasure of seeing you, and of renewing our old friendship, which I assure you I have retained in full force. When we meet we shall have many melancholy events to deplore, and many dear friends to regret. But we must endeavour to discharge our duty towards our country with fortitude and perseverance, and to remedy what we could not prevent. I know nothing of public arrangements, and all the reports in the newspapers respecting myself are utterly groundless. To you I think it my duty to declare that the memory of my ever-to-be-lamented friend will always be the primary object of my veneration and attachment in public life,

but that I will never lend my hand to sustain any system of administration evidently inadequate to the difficulties and dangers of the crisis. I shall be most happy to labour in any way which may promise advantage to the public service; but having no personal object of pursuit, I shall not easily be deluded from the solemn conviction of my mind, that our recent loss cannot be repaired, nor our imminent perils be averted, otherwise than by a union of the approved talents and highest character of the nation.

I hope you will appoint an hour for meeting me, either at your own house or here, when I shall be most happy to obey your commands.[1]

Wellesley was a great Governor-General of India, and in many respects a great man. He could not, however, be made to realise, at least for a long time, that the British people, and even the majority of British politicians, were in those days almost entirely uninterested in India, of which land indeed they knew little or nothing except the name. No man meant deliberately to slight him, but unconsciously everything was construed as a slight by him, who demanded, and, of course, demanded in vain, the same subservience from his Parliamentary associates as from his subordinates in India. Certainly he regarded as a mere trivial compliment the dinner given in his honour at Almack's on March 22, 1806, when General Harris, the captor of Seringapatam, was

[1] Pearce: *Wellesley*, ii. 389.

in the chair, and the company included many of the leading statesmen of the day.

Wellesley expected a discussion in Parliament on his Indian administration, and was prepared to welcome it; but he was terribly angry and upset when he learnt that an attack on his policy in connection with Oudh was to be made in the House of Commons. His indignation, indeed, was tremendous, and his disgust not less.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* LORD GRENVILLE

Park Lane: January 25, 1806

My anxious desire to see you arises from this circumstance. A man of the name of Paull[1] (whose character you probably know) rose yesterday in the House of Commons, and gave notice of a motion for Monday, when he says he proposes to move for papers with a view to founding charges against Lord Wellesley. It is said that he is supported by Francis, even by Windham, and that the Prince of Wales has also ordered all his friends to attend for the purpose of countenancing the miserable attack of this obscure and low man. Certainly this is not the mode in which I expected to be treated. If any person honestly wishes to examine the affairs of India, let him first receive from me all the information I can afford, and if that should not satisfy him, or should convince him I have been wrong, and that a change of system is requisite, let him then proceed in Parliament. But to aid the vindictive design of such a

[1] See *infra*, p. 203.

person as Mr. Paull is not worthy of any character with whom I can ever attempt to act. I am informed that the main object of the design is to cast a shade over my reputation in this critical moment for the express purpose of excluding me from public affairs. On this occasion I trust that you will come to a full explanation with Mr. Fox and his friends. You must see the necessity of doing so very early, for if the plan to be pursued be not fully arranged before Monday, the shaft may be shot, and I may be separated from you by absolute necessity. You must see the impossibility of my acting with Mr. Fox and his friends while they are employed in co-operating with such a man as Paull to disturb the repose which I am entitled to enjoy, after such arduous and successful labour in the public service.

On the other hand, I am totally ignorant of the designs of the Ministry, with whom I have had no intercourse whatever on this subject. My intention is without delay to require Lord Castlereagh to take some direct line with relation to this attack, and in the course of to-morrow I shall ascertain his views.

But I must rely on you to obtain for me a distinct view of the intentions of your friends, and I therefore earnestly entreat you to come to town for that purpose, as well as for the purpose of advising me with regard to the conduct which I ought to pursue on this occasion.[1]

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* vii. 336.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* LORD GRENVILLE

Park Lane: January 25 [26 ?], 1806

Upon thinking over what passed between us to-day I think it very desirable that I should be in your Cabinet at all events, whether with or without office. The last office I should wish is the Board of Control. You will understand, however, that the whole of this statement is subject to the same reservations which I have already mentioned, namely, that I shall aid you with the utmost zeal in every way, whatever may be my situation.[1]

The principal promoter of the attack on Wellesley was James Paull. Of obscure origin, Paull went out to India as a Writer when he was eighteen (1788), and, being possessed of commercial talents, in the course of a few years had established a lucrative business in Lucknow. He made the acquaintance of the Governor-General when he was sent to Fort William as one of the trade-delegates from Lucknow, and was kindly received. In 1804, however, Paull quarrelled with the local authorities, who, in the end, were backed by Wellesley. Thereupon Paull disposed of his business, and returned to England. His grievance was henceforth to be the business of his life, and, with the object of forwarding it, he, at no little expense, secured his election in June, 1805, for Newtown, Isle of Wight. In the following month he moved

[1] *Fortescue MSS.* vii. 341.

for papers relative to the dealings of Wellesley with the Nawab of Oudh. The Prince of Wales and the Whigs, it is said, encouraged him, and certainly Fox and Windham were among his supporters. When the Ministry of "All the Talents" was formed, it was clearly impossible, Fox and Windham being members thereof, for him to succeed, and he was begged to let the matter drop. However, he refused to do so, and throughout the session moved from time to time for further papers. Wellesley, with this attack hanging over him, clearly could not take office. Moreover, he declined haughtily even to take his seat in the House of Lords, and, as a matter of fact, did not make his maiden speech in that assembly until February 8, 1808, when in an admirable oration he supported the Government in the debate on the seizure of the Danish fleet by Admiral Gambier and General Lord Cathcart in the previous September.

The Marquess Wellesley *to* H.R.H. The Duke of York[1]

Park Lane: January 30, 1806[2]

I have the honour to acknowledge, with the highest sense of gratitude, your Royal Highness' most gracious condescension in having been

[1] Frederick Augustus, Duke of York (1763-1827), Commander-in-Chief, second son of George III.

[2] On this day Sir Arthur Wellesley succeeded Lord Cornwallis as Colonel of the 33rd Regiment.

pleased to inform me of the distinguished favour which His Majesty has conferred on Sir Arthur Wellesley. I hope to have an opportunity of submitting to His Majesty by your Royal Highness' favour my most dutiful thanks for this signal act of goodness and justice, which is not more acceptable to the warmest feelings of my heart than it will prove to the sentiments of the 33rd Regiment, and of the whole army of India.[1]

Admiral Sir W. Sidney Smith[2] *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Plymouth: February 3, 1806

I cannot leave England for the Mediterranean, the intermediate station between the two extremes of our Empire, without again offering my services in the conveyance of anything for your Lordship through my African and Asiatic friends which you may rather wish to convey by water through Europe than by land in these times. I wish also to call your Lordship's attention to the necessity of cultivating our turban'd intermediate friends more than we do, to balance the unceasing intrigues of a man who knows perfectly well how to cajole mankind, and particularly how to address the uncultivated minds of the Mahometan part of them *ad captandum*. My brother Spencer,[3] who

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 83.

[2] Sir William Sidney Smith (1764-1840), the hero of St. Jean d'Acre, was in November 1805 promoted Rear-Admiral, and in the following January hoisted his flag on the *Pompée* for service in the Mediterranean, where Lord Collingwood gave him a command on the coast of Naples.

[3] Charles Spencer Smith, sometime Ambassador to the Porte.

will have the honour of delivering this letter to your lordship, will be able to show you the danger of leaving Turkey a prey to French machinations. The Porte is obliged to look to Russia alone as less to be *feared* than France just now, but her *exclusive* influence arises only from our exercising *none*. This is not fair to our ally, who looks to *us* as arbitrator in her affairs, sensible that *we can have no interest other than* the integrity of that Empire, while others may be suspected of interested advice. At this moment Russia is negotiating the renewal of her treaty of alliance, and we shall be called on to accede thereto when it is entirely concluded; and although we may then find many articles we could have wished otherwise, it will be too late to amend them, as we could now were our Minister at Constantinople a party or even privy to what is going on.

Lines of battle-ships alone have weight in the minds of the inhabitants of the seraglio, and the nearest will ever be obeyed. I look to your Lordship going to India again some time or other, and as Sir Edward Pellew[1] has written to his wife here that he cannot bear the climate, and that the command, divided as it is between two, is not worth anybody's acceptance, it is probable other arrangements may be made there; in which case, as I stand as fair as any other candidate to succeed the flag-officer now there that will remain there

[1] Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Pellew (1757-1833) was appointed in April, 1804, Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. In 1814 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Exmouth of Canonteign, and in the same year became Admiral of the Blue.

(Thomas Troubridge[1]), whose standing on the captain's list is the same as mine, 1782, I may have the honour of conveying your Lordship, which I should be happy to obtain.[2]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* WILLIAM WILBERFORCE

Park Lane: April 15, 1806

I wish you would give a portion of your attention to the attack which has been made upon me in the House of Commons by Mr. Paull. If you are disposed to attend to it, I will furnish you with papers which will explain my conduct and motives.[3]

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

House of Commons: April 22, 1806

I have been day after day fretted, and that in no small degree, by the reflection that I have returned no answer whatever to your last friendly letter. I can truly, however, assure you that it has not been from my not having it in my thoughts. But it is and has for many years been a standing grievance with me, that the time which I should willingly allot to subjects of extended operation

[1] Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge, first Baronet (1758-1807). He entered the Navy in 1773, and saw much active service. He held a command at the battle of St. Vincent, and was with Nelson at Naples and Malta. He was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty in 1801, and was created Rear-Admiral 1804.

[2] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 91.

[3] Pearce: *Wellesley*, ii. 444.

and national importance is continually withdrawn from them by a variety of matters which from my parliamentary situation have a *right* to my attention. These, with the large correspondence they bring on me, consume all my mornings (and I use morning here in the most extended sense), and the afternoons and evenings are engaged by the House of Commons. Hence it has happened that I have been for some time earnestly wishing to go into a full investigation of East Indian affairs, but I have been always kept from the execution of my purpose. I have approached the subject, I own, with considerable embarrassment, from my feeling of personal regard for you, who must of course be so much implicated in the judgment to be formed on it on the one hand, and from my sense of public duty on the other. Still, I *have* approached, but I have not yet been able to do more than make a beginning, and I have studiously abstained from reading any papers which contain rather conclusions than the ground on which they are formed, and might rather bias than inform me. On this principle, though I have had some time in my possession the letter from the twenty-three directors to which you allude, I have never once looked into it. I owe it, however, to Mr. Grant[1] to say, that not only it was not given to me by him, but that he never mentioned to me a single particular of it; but without my asking it was sent to me. After

[1] Charles Grant (1746-1823), Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company from 1805, who opposed the policy of Wellesley, and supported the attack on him.

stating to your Lordship thus my real situation, I have only to add that I shall be happy to receive from you any information which can tend to elucidate any of the transactions of your government. If I have the power of doing it, I will make use of them. I am sure I need not say that I *know* (for I would use no less ambiguous term) with what public-spirited and patriotic views you originally went out to India, and that I should therefore be slow to admit of any conclusions to your disadvantage. I am now writing at a Committee table, whither I am duly summoned at twelve o'clock, and kept till near four on the Woollen Manufactory, and as I am obliged to keep my ear open listening to evidence while my hand and mind are employed in writing, I must beg you to allow for a letter written under such circumstances.

P.S. I do not know what the newspapers may have made me say last night in the House, but I stated most distinctly and repeatedly that in voting for the production of the Directors' letter I should act on *general principle*, disavowing all reference to Lord Wellesley, thinking that Parliament ought to receive such information as the Directors could give, and that we should have it, if at all, stated to us correctly and authoritatively, and not in the state in which a paper printed as that in question would come before us. But in confidence, my dear Lord, let me own that I heard so much from several members of the strange anomalous system of our Indian Government, that I thought it necessary to state the grand

objects which it was necessary to have in view in constituting a Government for India, and the difficulties which arose out of them. I allude particularly to the separation of the patronage from the political power and executive Government.[1]

Paull formulated his charges against Wellesley on May 22, 1806, and six days later the House of Commons ordered that they should be printed; but in spite of the efforts of Wellesley's friends to force the matter to an issue, it was still unwarrantably delayed.

The death of Fox on September 13, 1806, made it necessary for Grenville to find a new Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and he approached Canning, with whom, indeed, he had earlier opened negotiations with the object of inducing him to join the Cabinet. Canning took Wellesley into his confidence, and submitted to him the draft of a letter addressed to Lord Lowther, upon which Wellesley commented.

GEORGE CANNING *to* VISCOUNT LOWTHER

South Hill: September 26, 1806

I have not hitherto troubled your Lordship upon the subjects on which we conversed before you left town, because there has been no period, till the present, at which I have had anything precise to communicate; and I have not thought

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 112.

A. Heckel, pinxt. *F. Young, sculpt.*

CHARLES JAMES FOX

myself at liberty to report, without a distinct object, what has passed between Lord Grenville and myself, since that communication which I mentioned to your Lordship and to others in July.

Since that time Lord Grenville has expressed, more than once, through the same confidential channel, his wish for the renewal of the connection which formerly subsisted between him and me, and his readiness to find the means of making such an opening for me in office as would certainly have left to me personally, in that respect, nothing to desire.

Knowing, as you do, my sentiments towards Lord Grenville, you will readily judge in what way my inclination would have led me to meet such a disposition on his part, had I acted on the impulse of those sentiments alone, without reference to other considerations.

But I declined listening to any separate overture. And Lord Grenville was not prepared, at that time, to give to such an overture any farther extension than that of some law arrangement, which should comprehend (but exactly in what manner was not explained) Perceval and the Master of the Rolls.

In this state things continued till the day before Mr. Fox's death. It had, indeed, been mutually agreed that any farther discussion should be deferred till after the decision of the two important events then depending—that of Mr. Fox's recovery and the question of peace with France.

Mr. Fox's death, happening before the

negotiation had terminated, was of itself a source of new difficulty. On the one hand, it was hardly to be expected that any man would enter at hazard into connection with the Government while the nature and result of so important (and in the view of those out of office so questionable) a measure were yet unascertained. And on the other hand this event appears to have made it necessary for Lord Grenville to proceed to the making of his arrangements without delay.

Upon that occasion, it is but justice to Lord Grenville to say that I believe he did seriously turn his thoughts to the possibility of comprehending a larger proportion of Mr. Pitt's friends than he had hitherto had in contemplation. But he uniformly avowed the determination of not displacing for that purpose any one of the persons who had come into office with him.

Upon comparing the number of openings which Lord Grenville could have to offer, *consistently with this determination*, with the number of persons acting with us, who had not put themselves out of question as to office, and with what I had been able to collect of the pretensions and expectations of some of them, and particularly of some of those whom I met at your house in July, it was obvious that any proposal which could be founded on so narrow a basis would be insufficient for its purpose.

And as the whole of Lord Grenville's communications with me on this subject were professedly directed to the single object of ascertaining my opinion as to the probable success of any such

overture as he might find himself enabled to make —with the intention (if I should encourage him to believe that it was likely to be accepted) of submitting it to the approbation of his colleagues in office, previously to its being communicated by me to those with whom I was acting, as a distinct, a formal proposal—I felt myself bound, in fairness to Lord Grenville, not to give him an opinion more encouraging than I really had reason to entertain.

The discussion, therefore, terminated without ever having assumed the shape of a regular negotiation, but with the expression of a strong wish on my part, that if Lord Grenville should think fit to make any proposal of the sort which he appeared to have had in contemplation, he would do it rather through somebody less personally interested in it than myself ; and I took the liberty of naming the Duke of Portland as the person who, I thought, would be considered by all parties as the most unexceptionable channel for such a communication.

I have thus given your Lordship an account of a transaction, the result of which I know you will regret.

It is, indeed, a mortifying circumstance (in *our* view of the situation of the Government and of the country) that Lord Grenville should, from whatever sense of his actual engagements and obligations, have lost so favourable an opportunity of obtaining that ascendancy to his own power and principles, in the administration, which we have all along lamented that he has not appeared

to possess, and which a connection with Mr. Pitt's friends would have secured to him.

But while I regret this result, I really cannot accuse myself of having in any degree contributed to it, by omitting anything on my part which could have led to a general or comprehensive arrangement.[1]

WELLESLEY'S *Observations on* CANNING'S *Letter to* VISCOUNT LOWTHER

October 2, 1806

It would appear to be necessary to remark that the communications made on the part of Lord Grenville were never of a formal or positive description, nor of the nature of direct proposals or offers: it was stated that the substance of them must be discussed with those persons who at that time were acting confidentially with him, before any direct proposal could be made either to Mr. Canning or his friends, and it was mentioned that no such discussion had yet taken place between Lord Grenville and his friends. On the other hand, it was always supposed that Mr. Canning, previously to any determination, would have taken the advice of those with whom he was connected. The communications from Lord Grenville were declared to be directed to the object of ascertaining from Mr. Canning in a confidential and amicable manner the prospect of success in the events which might have admitted a more formal and distinct proposal.

(1) The first communication was confined to the

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 77.

idea of establishing a connection with Mr. Canning and of making arrangements for Mr. Perceval; it should be observed, however, that a similar disposition was expressed respecting Sir William Grant, the Master of the Rolls. No principle of *exclusion* was then stated.

(2) The discussion of any branch of the question in any view was deferred by mutual understanding in the expectation that two points of great importance must speedily be decided, namely, the probability of Mr. Fox's recovery, and the prospect of early peace. The decision of one, if not of both, these points was mutually deemed to be essential to the possibility of proceeding to any regular consideration of Lord Grenville's wishes. And although Lord Grenville's enquiries may have been more distinctly directed to the means of comprehending a larger proportion of the present opposition within the Government at the period of time named (about the time of Mr. Fox's death) than at any earlier moment, it must be observed that those enquiries originated in the suggestions which had been made to him *about that time* of the probability of effecting such an arrangement upon principles of justice and equity towards all parties. Lord Grenville's disposition was always the same, but his views of the question necessarily varied with the hopes which he entertained of finding means to form a more comprehensive system, without injury to his own honour and to the just claims of those who acted with him. The word "offer" is here used; it has already been observed that no communication

was made which could strictly be termed an "offer." The same observation applies to much of the subsequent statement, which perhaps might be qualified by some explanation of the nature of the communication which took place.

(3) It would be proper to explain that any questions concerning Windham originated entirely with Mr. Canning; no idea ever was stated of any change with regard to Windham, and it seems sufficient merely to advert to Lord Grenville's general determination respecting the members of his Government. It is very desirable to omit the mention of particular names in the relation of a communication of so general a nature, otherwise what has passed (certainly with amicable views in every quarter) may tend to open sources of fresh animosity. This remark particularly applies to what is stated regarding Lord Melville: it would certainly be more conciliatory to avoid any mention of *his* name which did not come into question in any material part of the discussion. It may be proper to state Mr. Canning's own disposition towards both Windham and Lord Melville, and his intentions respecting both, if the transaction had ultimately assumed a more regular form; but the expressions here used may create much ill-will. My dispositions towards Lord Melville have always been so different from unkind or unjust that I should grieve to be the reporter of the existence of any such sentiments in the mind of any friend of mine, and I am therefore anxious that this point should not be stated with such strength. Indeed, I should not deem it to be just

to Lord Grenville to describe his sentiments so strongly; perhaps in a case of such delicacy it would be necessary to obtain from Lord Grenville a much more detailed explanation of his opinions and disposition with regard to Lord Melville, before I could fairly say in what terms those opinions and disposition could be correctly described.

But I really perceive no necessity for such description, and I should imagine that every important purpose would be answered by remarking that the situation of Lord Melville and his connections must have formed a material branch of any final discussion with Lord Grenville.

Upon the whole, I wish it were possible to make a shorter statement of the communication which passed; the substance of it was certainly of a conciliatory nature, but I apprehend some danger from the details, especially those which relate to individual pretensions and situations.

You will excuse the freedom of these remarks, as you know that my views throughout the whole transaction have been amicable to all my friends.[1]

GEORGE CANNING *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

South Hill: October 3, 1806

How can you have thought it necessary to make any apology for what you call the freedom of your remarks upon my proposed letter to Lord Lowther? I sent it to you for no other purpose than that you should comment upon it with as much freedom as possible.

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 81.

Undoubtedly it would have saved us both some trouble to have considered all that has passed as *nul and non avenu*, and to have said absolutely nothing about it.

But how could that be in justice to Lord Grenville? He cannot but conjecture (and I am well aware) that no small stimulus will be given to the spirit of party politics in the next session of Parliament by the notion that the opportunity which (it will be said) was afforded to Lord Grenville by Fox's death, to retrieve what (in the language of party) is called a false step in the original formation of his Government, has been thrown away. This will be considered a deliberate preference of the Foxite party, or (what is not better liked, perhaps) of Lord Sidmouth's, to the friends of Mr. Pitt. This is no fancy of mine.

It happens, by an odd coincidence, that the same post which has brought me back my letter with your observations, brings me a letter from the person to whom mine is addressed, written precisely in this strain. In such a case what ought I to do? To suffer the mistake to remain uncontradicted? That surely would be unfair to Lord Grenville. To say generally that something has passed, but of a nature not to be reported? That would be only to invite questions, and to excite suspicions much more unfavourable to the possibility of a good understanding hereafter than the truth. What other course remains but to state correctly the substance of what has passed with no more particularity than is necessary for making the statement intelligible?

For this purpose I am very glad to avail myself of your remarks, to correct whatever may have appeared to you inaccurate, and to supply whatever omission has struck you as material.

Your first general observations relate to the too great formality and distinctness of shape under which you think the communications to me were represented. I have endeavoured to conform the representation to your ideas, by striking out, wherever they occurred, the words "offer," "proposal," and the like, and substituting expressions of a more indeterminate nature.

I have also (though not on any suggestion of yours) considerably abridged the first part, which relates to myself alone, upon which I have no desire to dwell for any other purpose than that of expressing what have invariably been my sentiments towards Lord Grenville.

My alterations are made throughout in red ink, and the passages underlined with red ink are designed to be omitted.

Your first *specific* remark (No. 1) applies to the statement of the proposed legal arrangement. You notice the omission of the Master of the Rolls. I omitted him because I thought that in beating out that idea together I had shown you that it was not worth much in the way of temptation. Sir William Grant, I believe, could not consider anything but the Great Seal as above his present situation. In fact, his rank is already above that of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and a peerage, which alone could make the latter situation the higher of the two, might possibly

have suggested the suspicion of a wish to remove him from the House of Commons, quite as readily as that of a beneficial promotion. Such was my view of this point, as I stated it to you more than once, I think—but particularly on the Thursday night, when the question of the separate overture was finally settled. That view may be mistaken. I do not think it is so. But it is from that view only that I thought the mention of the Master of the Rolls not only unimportant, but better avoided. However, as it seems to be thought otherwise, I now add his name to Perceval's.

I change at the same time in this paragraph the expression to which you appear to refer, when you say that " no principle of *exclusion* was then stated."

The next remark (No. 2) is important, as it shows that a sense which I had no intention of conveying might be affixed, and what was said of the *time* when Lord Grenville first took into consideration the possibility of finding means for a wider arrangement. If I meant anything more than simply to mark the date, it was certainly not (as you seem to have understood) to throw any blame on Lord Grenville. But since the passage appears to be liable to such a construction it must be altered. And I cannot do better than copy, as nearly as possible, your words. I flatter myself that, so far as I have gone, the changes which I propose will have satisfied all your objections. What remains is, I confess, much more difficult.

It is unquestionably true that the limitation in point of number of offices would not, of itself,

have been decisive in my opinion. And I do not give a true impression of the grounds of that opinion, unless I mention the negative as well as the positive circumstances on which it was formed.

I thought I had been particularly cautious *not* to imply that the idea of removing Windham had been entertained by Lord Grenville. I state it expressly, as that which I had found reason to believe was *not* in Lord Grenville's contemplation. I state this, to be sure, without much introduction or circumlocution, because it is an idea so familiar to the public at large, to everybody (I believe) out of the Government, and to very many in it, that I suppose Lord Grenville himself is the only person who has all along felt quite sure that, happen what might besides, Windham would meet Parliament again in his present office. I am perfectly persuaded that if his name is *not* mentioned expressly, the very contrary of the truth will be taken for granted; or that the "general determination" of Lord Grenville "respecting the members of his Government" will *not* be thought to have precluded the idea of an amicable transfer of Windham from his present to some other situation of more dignity and leisure. Nevertheless, if any importance is attached to the suppression of his name, I underscore him with red, without much remorse; though it cost me at the same time the statement of the notion of a compromise upon some of the military points, to which I attach, beyond the present moment, much importance—but which perhaps it is of more

importance to have stated to you than to Lord Grenville.

I do not part with Lord Melville with the same indifference. It is true that nothing distinct, in the way of proposal and rejection, passed respecting Lord Melville, but I cannot help fearing that what I stated (surely in a very guarded manner) is at the same time very true—that I did "*collect* enough to lead me to apprehend that there exists with respect to him no conciliatory disposition."

"Kindness" no man has a right to claim. It is optional to show it or not; and its being withholden is no ground of complaint. But the determination to retain on the Journals of the House of Commons the Resolutions which have been negatived both as to the Law and the Facts —as to the Law by the opinions of the Judges, and as to the Facts by the solemn decision of the competent Tribunal, I hold to be in strictness *unjust;* and if the doing justice in this respect were matter of difficulty (which it ought not to be) still the not restoring Lord Melville to the Privy Council,[1] from which those Resolutions, now so falsified, procured his expulsion, appears to me to be, not a want of favour or of kindness, but plain, substantial *injustice.* You cannot suppose me here to speak of what I suppose to be *your* sentiments or even Lord Grenville's *individually,* but those of the *Government.*

Still, however, though I think this a most

[1] Melville's name was removed from the roll of Privy Councillors when the charge of malversation was brought against him. It was erased on May 9, 1805, and restored on April 8, 1807.

important part of the statement, it is not one that is essential to it. Nothing could be more contrary to my wishes than to excite any one unpleasant feeling which does not now exist, or to aggravate any which may unfortunately have been excited. . . .

The expedient of saying what "*I would have done*" upon this subject, "if the transaction had assumed a more regular form," would, I think, be dangerous (if there be danger, as you seem to think, in the subject), as that would naturally lead to the question, "What did you collect to be the disposition in respect to Lord Melville?" to which I am afraid I could still give but an unsatisfactory answer. I give up all that relates to Lord Melville therefore, altogether.

Thus curtailed and amended, I imagine you will find nothing in the statement but what is strictly conformable to your view of the transactions between us. If anything fresh should strike you upon a review of it, I shall be equally ready to endeavour to satisfy your objections. But I cannot help wishing that it might be convenient to you, in that case, to come and state your objections here, or, in the better alternative of your being satisfied, to find some leisure day to come here and express your satisfaction.

Again and again I entreat you to be assured that I can retain no impression of your part in this transaction, nor of Lord Grenville's either (so far as I am personally concerned) but what is of the most gratifying and satisfactory nature. I hope you do not think that I can have been insensible

either to his disposition to renew old friendship, or to your unwearied kindness in the endeavour to bring about that renewal. I trust, too, that you do *me* the same justice, and that, if we are vexed (as for my part I am heartily) with the result of our communications, we lay the blame only on the circumstances and the persons, that for the present make what we all equally desire impracticable.

P.S. One should have thought that I had done, but on looking over my *returned* letter, I see one pencil-mark which has not any observation annexed to it. It is over the words "could make" in the fourth page of the first sheet. What does it imply? Did you doubt the meaning of the expression? or only object to the *tense* of the verb, as too positive? I have inserted an alteration by guess, which seems to me to meet both this doubt and this objection, and I can think of no other. Yet another thing had escaped me. You speak of Lord Grenville's intention to have consulted his colleagues before any *direct* proposal could have been made. I will certainly mention this if you think it material. But I doubt (for Lord Grenville) what good the mention of it can do. Will it not rather suggest the ideas first of Lord Grenville being *less* master of his Government, etc., etc.; and secondly, that obvious one, that to consult a Government, *pretty full* already, upon the means of making room, would probably be to ensure a negative upon the experiment?[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 85.

GEORGE CANNING *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

South Hill: October 9, 1806

The inclination of my opinion is that, though not absolutely necessary, it would, if proper (of which you may perhaps be a better judge than I) be very *desirable* that Lord Grenville *should* see what has lately passed between us. I return the amended letter, therefore; and I return also those observations of yours, in conformity to which the amendments have been made. And I beg that you will do what upon consideration you shall think best. I have not kept any copy of my last letter to you which accompanied the amended letter, and explained the views upon which those parts which appeared to you to require alteration had been framed; but this appears to me to be a necessary accompaniment of any communication to Lord Grenville.

I am glad that in its present shape the paper appears to you to be unexceptionable. It is, however, still open to any further observations which your reference to Lord Grenville may suggest—as, having been obliged to answer Lord Lowther's letter, and to account for the delay of the communication which I had to make to him, the further interval of a day or two is of no great importance.[1]

LORD GRENVILLE *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Downing Street: October 16, 1806

I return you the papers you sent me. They afford ample proofs of the fairness of the intention

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 93.

with which Canning's letter has been drawn, and it is impossible for me not to feel highly gratified by his expressions of personal kindness towards myself, which indeed I never doubted, and which are met on my part by feelings perfectly reciprocal. I also concur entirely with him in the propriety for his sake, as well as for my own, of our being able to make to our respective friends some statement on this subject. I have indeed already had occasion to say something on the subject to the very person to whom Canning's letter is addressed. In answer to some observations of his I felt myself at liberty to say that I had had the means of ascertaining that the persons with whom he wished to see me connected had determined not to treat for that purpose but as a body, and to maintain pretensions which (whether reasonable or not in themselves) were inconsistent with what I felt I owed as a man of honour towards those whom I myself had so recently recommended to the stations they now hold in Government.

This is the substance, and I believe not far from the words, which I used, and I confess I think it is only in some such short statement of the leading facts that the respective parties to such a transaction can ever be brought to concert. I cannot but agree with you that the draft of Canning's letter, even as now amended, is much too long and too detailed for such a purpose. In a narrative of that length and particularity, no man can avoid that species of colouring which every one naturally gives in telling his own story, and which would be

found to be perfectly different in two such representations of facts precisely the same. The slightest change of the turn of an expression will, as you well know, lead to different inferences in matters of so much delicacy; and in guarding the impression of my conduct, as I endeavoured to guard my conduct itself, against the two extremes of which I am liable to be suspected by different persons, of too great or too little facility on this occasion, I never could concur in and adopt a representation of the details drawn by a person who probably does not feel exactly as I do, as to all the motives which regulated my decision. In such a case I cannot but think that the leading facts are those which can alone be stated by the common consent of both parties; and that the rest must be left to the fairness and mutual good faith of persons honourably and kindly disposed to each other, and who certainly have no intention to misrepresent the particulars.

In this view I think our joint statement might be shortly thus:

That nothing passed on either side but with reference to communications to be subsequently made to the respective friends of each as the proper foundation of any distinct and regular discussion or treaty.

That Lord Grenville and Mr. Canning mutually expressed a desire that circumstances might lead to a renewal of their former connection.

That Mr. Canning described himself as bound by engagements which prevented him from acting otherwise than in concurrence with the body of the

Opposition, whom he also described as bound by similar engagements to each other.

And that it appeared almost immediately that the pretensions of that body were such as could not be satisfied by such facilities as Lord Grenville was likely to find himself enabled to furnish from actual or probable openings, but would require a departure from the determination he uniformly avowed, of not forcibly displacing for that purpose any of the persons who had come into office with him ; and that on this ground the whole terminated without ever having assumed the shape of a regular negotiation.

This, of course (if anything like it be adopted for a joint statement) will not preclude either Canning or myself from stating our own views and impressions as to minuter details ; but these will be stated as our own, and consequently by just and reasoning minds will be received as such.

Had a more particular statement by common consent appeared to me necessary or proper, I should have had to thank you much for your observations, in all which I concur, thinking some of them also extremely material—particularly those which relate to Windham and Lord Melville. I should indeed be sorry to be thought to have admitted a discussion of which Windham's removal formed a part ; nor could I acknowledge what was said about Lord Melville to be in any degree a just representation of my sentiments. Nothing, of course, can now be said as to future intentions ; but speaking of the past, even up to this very moment, I must say that if there be one individual

in this country to whom I conceive myself to have shewn *the greatest* kindness, and that too with much embarrassment and difficulty to myself, that individual is Lord Melville.

I also think it most essential that all that passed on my part should be clearly stated as having had reference to future communication and concert with my friends before it could assume a binding form. I have no pretensions to be (as is stated) the *master* of the Government I act with. The station I do hold was, as you know, forced upon me by them against my wishes, and I have no desire to carry its pretensions at all higher than necessity requires: much less could I think of acting in such a matter as this without full communication with them and a determination, not only to ask their advice, but to abide by it as far as a man can honestly sacrifice his own judgment to that of others.[1]

Canning declining to join the "All the Talents" administration, Lord Howick was taken from the Admiralty and given the Foreign Office, and Thomas Grenville succeeded him at the Admiralty. In March 1807 a disagreement with the King on the Catholic question, on which he would not yield in the slightest degree, brought about the resignation of the Ministry, and the Duke of Portland was invited to form an administration. One of the Duke's first acts was to offer Wellesley the Foreign Office.

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 95.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* GEORGE CANNING

Private *Oxford Street*
March 22, 1807

I contrived at length to see Lord Grenville this evening at five o'clock; you will perceive by the enclosed note that I have used every effort to prevent delay.

With real pain I decline the very kind and flattering proposition which you were so good as to convey to me. I have not delayed my answer one moment beyond the time that it was possible to send it.

I have nothing to add but my warmest sentiments of gratitude towards you, and all who act with you, and my deep sense of the gracious favour which the King has manifested towards me.

It is my determination to have no concern in any opposition which may be forming against the new Ministry, and on all occasions I shall be most happy to be of any service to you and to them.

I obtained Lord Grenville's assurance that what has passed respecting me shall not transpire through him; and from me no person whatever shall learn this transaction without your permission.[1]

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Burlington House: March 24, 1807

It is with infinite satisfaction that I obey the commands which I have this moment received

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 107.

Sir J. Reynolds, pinxt. *J. Murphy, sculpt.*

WILLIAM HENRY CAVENDISH BENTINCK, 3RD DUKE OF PORTLAND

from the King to convey to you without a moment's loss of time "His Majesty's earnest desire that you will undertake the office of Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, in which His Majesty will be glad to avail himself of your Lordship's virtues and talents." It would be impertinent in me to add a word more to the extract which I have given your Lordship in His Majesty's own words, except to assure you that I never felt a higher gratification than in fulfilling His Majesty's commands in the present instance.

The King will be in town at five this evening, when he expresses his hope that I shall be enabled to bring him your Lordship's answer.[1]

This offer must have been gratifying to Wellesley's haughty soul, but he would not accept office with the charges against him still undisposed of. Canning became Foreign Secretary. Wellesley's family, partly perhaps as a compliment to him, was, however, well represented in the Government, Sir Arthur Wellesley being appointed Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Wellesley-Pole Secretary of the Admiralty, and Henry Wellesley a Secretary of the Treasury. Wellesley now was able to face the charges with more of spirit and less of disgust. "He has at length got the better of the effect which these base attacks had made upon his mind," Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote to Malcolm,

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 170.

February 25, 1808. "He has lately made a most distinguished speech in the House of Lords, and I have no doubt he will come forward frequently in the same way. I hope that we shall be able to bring the House of Commons to a vote on the Oudh case in the course of the next week. Not, I think, that it signifies essentially whether we do or not, as time has had its usual effect upon the sense or folly of the public, and has convinced them that the man they have been in the habit of abusing was the best governor for India. It is desirable, however, to come to a vote on this question, as several of Lord Wellesley's Indian friends are anxious about it, as well as others who have more respect than I have for what passes in Parliament." It was not, however, until March 8, 1808, that the charges were brought definitely before the House of Commons, and then the motion was negatived by 182 to 31 votes. A subsequent resolution approving of Wellesley's conduct was moved by Sir John Anstruther, and carried. The matter was once more revived in the following May, when Sir Thomas Turton moved for the impeachment of Wellesley on the grounds of his conduct towards the Náwab of the Carnatic, but this was negatived without a division; and when Wallace moved a vote expressing approval of Wellesley's conduct in this matter, there were but nineteen dissentients.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* THE DUKE OF PORTLAND

Private and confidential *Camelford House*
April 21, 1807

According to the wish expressed by your Grace that I should commit to paper the general statement of my personal situation, which I had the honour of laying before you yesterday, I now address this letter to your Grace, and I take the liberty of adding my request, that the unexampled nature of the injuries which I have suffered may be humbly submitted to His Majesty's gracious consideration.

Your Grace is fully acquainted with the general tenor of my administration of the affairs of that important branch of the British Empire which was entrusted to my charge for nearly eight years. In every stage of the progress of my conduct the motives, success, and ultimate result of the measures pursued had been sanctioned by the most decided approbation of His Majesty's Government and of Parliament; and I deemed myself to be fully entitled to expect, from the nature and extent of my public services, as well as from the manner in which they have been accepted by His Majesty's Ministers during the whole period of my continuance in India, those honourable distinctions and that public reception which constitute the natural and just objects of ambition to every loyal subject of the Crown serving His Majesty and the country in arduous stations of public trust, and more especially in distant and unhealthy climates, under circumstances of great labour and difficulty.

Although untoward accidents had occasioned differences between me and the Court of Directors, in all material points the sentiments of His Majesty's Government had confirmed my proceedings, and at the close of my administration, when the late Mr. Pitt notified to me his intention of availing himself of my long expressed wish to be released from the government of India, he accompanied that notification by a declaration of "his earnest wish that I should not leave India without receiving some additional public mark of the cordial sense entertained of my services," and he added that he was "most anxious to obtain" for me, from His Majesty's gracious favour, the Order of the Garter, as a just remuneration for the advantages acquired for the Empire under my administration.

At the time of my arrival in England, Mr. Pitt, and the Ministers under whom I had served, continued to entertain the same favourable opinions of my services and of their result. The calamitous event of Mr. Pitt's death took place within a few days after I reached London, but not before I had received, in writing and verbally from that lamented friend, the most cordial testimonies of his unaltered esteem and confidence.

In the events which ensued, although Lord Grenville's favourable sentiments of my services remained unchanged and the long friendship suffered no diminution, the frame of the Government precluded me from submitting to His Majesty any representation of my situation.

From that period of time, notwithstanding the

unabated kindness of Lord Grenville, the conduct of affairs in the House of Commons has subjected me to a species of persecution, perhaps unparalleled in the modern history of England, for I have been unable to obtain the advantage even of condemnation by the House of Commons, and have been offered no alternative but a perpetual and indefinite state of accusation without any distinct ground of charge, or a dismission of the whole case from the bar of the House of Commons under an equivocal and ambiguous vote, which would leave the merits of the case in utter uncertainty.

In this situation it has evidently been the desire of a certain description of persons to detain me, for purposes which are sufficiently obvious; nor have those whose views are always just and honourable been able to frustrate the design. Under such circumstances the recent crisis called upon me to decide a painful question between my private friendship for Lord Grenville, my personal interests, as far as they were concerned in the issue of affairs in the House of Commons, and the high considerations of duty towards His Majesty, which have been involved in the late discussions in Parliament. Although the peculiar delicacy of my situation rendered me unable to serve His Majesty to the full extent of my most anxious wishes, your Grace has done me the justice to observe that I have afforded every support within my power to the cause of His Majesty's present Government. The part which I have taken was intended by me and was understood by your Grace, and by the world, to amount to a complete

declaration and pledge of my resolution to adhere to the Government which His Majesty has recently appointed; and whatever may be the result, I am satisfied that I have acted according to my duty; nor shall I depart from the determination which I have expressed to your Grace.

With these sentiments I submit to your Grace the justice of my hope that His Majesty may be graciously pleased to consider with indulgence the services rendered under my administration in India; the estimation in which those services were held by the late Mr. Pitt and all those Ministers under whom I was employed; and, lastly, the cruel and unjust return which I have received since my arrival; the attempts which have been made to convert services (for which I have received the thanks of the executive and legislative power) into crimes, and to preclude me from the benefit of those acts of His Majesty's grace and favour which have been conferred on my predecessors in similar circumstances, and even on persons employed under my command. His Majesty's justice and goodness will not, I trust, permit that I should remain undefended, unrewarded, and unhonoured merely because the whole tenor of my public service has been marked by an uniform attachment to His Majesty's person and Government, to the honour and interests of his crown, and to the civil and religious establishments of the country. I rely upon His Majesty's benevolence, that the executive power will take the lead in my cause, and that, if my services should receive the same estimation which the late

Mr. Pitt never denied to them, even in the last moments of his life, His Majesty will condescend to manifest a public sense of his favourable opinion by some mark of his royal notice.

In concluding this letter, it may not be improper to apprise your Grace that the considerations which induced me to solicit His Majesty's indulgence with regard to the immediate acceptance of active employment in his service have ceased to operate in my mind. The nature of the opposition which has been arrayed against the King's Government, and the entire separation which the course of recent events has necessarily occasioned between those who attack and those who propose to defend the Church and State as now constituted by law, have rendered the public service a matter of positive duty to me, if His Majesty should think fit to employ me either at home or abroad. Your Grace, however, will be pleased to consider this intimation to be made merely for your convenience, without any view of affecting arrangements already established, and without any reference to the nature or extent of my future support.[1]

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Buckingham House: March 17, 1808

You will believe me, my dear Lord Wellesley, very sincerely happy at the justice, though tardy and inadequate, that has been done to your

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 101.

character and services by the vote of Monday night ;[1] and personally gratified by the opportunity given to my son to mark his public gratitude to one for whom I have felt so warmly. If he has been fortunate enough to bear that testimony in terms satisfactory to you, and to pursue the course of his support, and of his arguments, without injury to the cause he wished to hold up to the gratitude and respect of the public, every wish that he could form on this subject will have been fully satisfied. He will, therefore, read with very particular pleasure your letter, which I shall immediately send to him ; and indeed he had already mentioned to me the very kind and strong terms in which Mr. Pole and my friend Arthur[2] expressed themselves to him immediately after he had spoken.

He does not appear to apprehend any real and substantial attempt to renew further questions on the Oudh subject ; if, however, he should be deceived in that opinion, his exertions will be anxiously directed to support the opinion which he has, after the fullest reflections and application to the question, invariably entertained respecting it.

After stating this, I know not how to add anything from myself on this subject. I cannot and will not congratulate you on what I feel to be a tardy and meagre act of justice ; but I may add that I feel unaffected and cordial pleasure in the vote that relieves your mind and your health from

[1] A resolution approving of Wellesley's policy in connection with Oudh.

[2] Sir Arthur Wellesley.

the constant and feverish irritation necessarily created by such an attack.[1]

Viscount Castlereagh[2] *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Private *Downing Street*
September 2, 1808

Mr. Cooke in my absence has fulfilled my wishes in transmitting to you without a moment's loss of time the glorious achievements of your brother.[3] It is truly gratifying to me that he has had this proud occasion, before the command passed into other hands, of confirming before the best troops of France the exalted reputation with which he has always served. Such a *début* for the British army portends, I trust, many splendid victories in the course of the war, if the Continent, like Spain, shall summon resolution to face the tyrant.

We have in the *Madrid Gazette* a letter from Palacios dated the 13th. He was again attacked on the 12th and compelled once more the French to retire with great loss both of men and artillery. On the 14th he was reinforced, and proceeding in pursuit of the enemy.[4]

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 226.

[2] Robert Stewart, Viscount Castlereagh (1769-1822), Secretary of State for War, succeeded as second Marquess of Londonderry, 1821. It was Castlereagh who had specially nominated Wellesley to his command in Portugal.

[3] Sir Arthur Wellesley won the battle of Vimiera, August 21, 1808.

[4] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 239.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private and confidential — *Burlington House*
September 7, 1808

Considering the expectations I encouraged you to entertain I must lose no time in accounting to you for my having abstained from endeavouring to fulfil them. On my arrival at the Queen's palace I acquainted my colleagues with my intention of moving the King to confer the honour of the peerage on Sir Arthur Wellesley in the manner which I had submitted to your Lordship, and which had had the good fortune to have received your sanction. They all approved my intention in its fullest extent, but all those who had had conferences in the closet represented the moment as very inauspicious, and strongly cautioned me against the attempt. Upon reflection, however, I thought I would feel the ground without committing any of the parties, and preserve the measure . . . I mean as *res integra*, and accordingly when I went into the closet I began upon the subject of the two splendid victories [Roliça and Vimiera], and the rewards which those to whom they were due must be thought to be entitled. To the merit of the first the assent was as unlimited and as satisfactory as I could have wished it, but with respect to the latter it was observed that it would be right to wait to see to whom those rewards should be given, and it was said with a considerable degree of emphasis: "I am always ready to reward merit, but I will not withhold *blame* where it shall be proved to

have been incurred." With this declaration the conversation upon that subject closed, and I am willing to hope that your Lordship will be of opinion that it was advisable to leave it there, and wait for the next arrival from Portugal, which I cannot allow myself to suppose will not justify me in resuming the subject, and making you such a report as will be perfectly satisfactory to you and all Sir Arthur's friends.[1]

THE MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Stowe : September 25, 1808

I have every reason for thinking that Sir H. Dalrymple,[2] Sir H. Burrard[3] and your brother are recalled to answer for the conventions signed in Portugal. Whilst this was doubtful there were many reasons why I did not think it right towards you to write to you one word upon that chapter ; but under the conviction that this step is taken towards Sir Arthur, I do not lose a moment in requesting you to believe that I cannot hesitate in offering to his family, for him, every assurance of the most cordial attachment to his fair fame and interests. Those feelings of affection and of confidence are not to be shaken by the political contests of the day ; and fully believing, as a public man, that he is not responsible for that most

[1] Sir Arthur Wellesley was created Viscount Wellington of Talavera, September 4, 1809, after the victories of Oporto and Talavera.

[2] General Sir Hew Whitefoord Dalrymple, Bart. (1750-1830).

[3] General Sir Harry Burrard (1755-1813).

disgraceful and most atrocious instrument, I request that I may be considered, not only on the ground of public justice, but upon every principle of very old, very steady, and very unalterable friendship, anxious to know how I can, most usefully to him, act upon these impressions.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 251.

BOOK IV

AMBASSADOR-EXTRAORDINARY TO SPAIN. 1809

BOOK IV

AMBASSADOR-EXTRAORDINARY TO SPAIN. 1809

Dissensions in the Cabinet : Wellesley's appointment : Sir Arthur Wellesley's command : A superfluity of commanders : The Convention of Cintra : Indignation in England : A ministerial crisis : Resignation of the Duke of Portland, Canning, and Castlereagh : Canning's "treachery" : Wellesley and the Premiership : Perceval's difficult task : Negotiations : Duel between Castlereagh and Canning : Wellesley offered the post of Foreign Secretary : His acceptance : Perceval's account of the resignations : Canning's account : Wellesley on Canning's conduct : Wellesley desires a Garter : Perceval's acquiescence : Wellesley's thanks : His impatience.

THE charges brought against him in connection with his conduct as Governor-General of India having been satisfactorily disposed of, Wellesley was quite willing to take office. In the Easter recess (1809) Canning, then Foreign Minister, told the Duke of Portland that he should resign unless Castlereagh, who was Secretary of State for War, gave up the seals of office ; but for the time being nothing was done. In the event of the retirement of Castlereagh, it was the intention of Canning to use his influence to have Wellesley appointed to the War Department. In the meantime, however, Wellesley

was invited to go as Ambassador-Extraordinary to Spain, there to arrange with the Junta for the efficient carrying on of the war against Napoleon.

In the summer of 1808 Castlereagh had decided to make Spain the headquarters of the British army abroad, and he desired to place the forces under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had so highly distinguished himself in India. The Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of York, and some of his advisers, however, opposed this intention, and though Wellesley had sailed in July, shortly after he landed he found himself superseded by Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard. He placed his troops at Vimiera, where they were on August 21 attacked by a French army under Junot. The French were routed, but Burrard, landing at the critical moment, forbade a pursuit, and Junot was able to retreat upon Lisbon. On the following day Dalrymple arrived and took command, and at once received proposals from Junot, offering to evacuate Portugal under a convention. There was something to be said for accepting the terms, as then the British forces could devote themselves entirely to Spain; but Dalrymple conceded all that Junot demanded. The Convention of Cintra was signed on August 30, but when the news reached England there was an outcry of disgust. The three generals were recalled and brought before a committee of enquiry. Dalrymple and Burrard were never again employed

on active service, and Wellesley, who had clearly been blameless in the matter, was sent back in supreme command.

The difficulties that confronted Wellesley are recorded in every account of the Peninsula war. The Spaniards were anxious enough to have the British forces to fight for them, but they showed a consistent lack of desire to assist them in any way. Promises, indeed, they made in plenty, but invariably failed to do what they had promised. It was only after Talavera, when Wellesley threatened to withdraw the army into Portugal, that matters became better. The Marquess worked hard to bring the negotiations with the Junta to a successful issue.[1] "After indulging his bad taste in a few silly bravadoes," Lord Holland has written, "he showed in essentials much foresight, and took a more accurate and comprehensive view of the policy of the country to which he was accredited than is usual in an English diplomatist, and than could have been expected in so short a residence."[2]

In the meantime ministerial affairs at home were approaching a crisis. Though the Cabinet supported Canning against Castlereagh, the dissensions ended in breaking up the Government.

[1] See *The Despatches and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley, K.G., during his Lordship's Mission to Spain as Ambassador-Extraordinary to the Supreme Junta in* 1809. Edited by Montgomery Martin. 1838.

[2] Holland: *Further Memoirs*, 47.

The Duke of Portland resigned on September 5, and Canning retired with him. Castlereagh, who had been kept in ignorance of Canning's demand for his dismissal, now learnt of this, and followed suit, indignant at what he regarded as the underhand treatment to which he had been subjected.

Spencer Perceval, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer under Portland, was entrusted by the King with the task of forming an administration. This he succeeded in doing after considerable negotiation, the course of which is made clear by the following correspondence.

B. Sydenham *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Admiralty: September 16, 1809

Although Mr. Pole determined from motives of delicacy not to write to your Lordship, the question has now assumed so serious a shape, that he feels himself bound, by every sentiment of affection and of anxiety for your interests, to communicate to you his opinion with regard to the actual state of circumstances in this country, in order that you may possess the fullest information before you decide upon this difficult and important subject.

The Duke of Portland, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning have all resigned. Lord Castlereagh complains with great justice of the treatment which he has experienced, and is extremely indignant. Indeed, it must be admitted that if such treatment be tolerated, no man can be safe for a moment. Canning has resigned because

Sir H. Beechey, R.A., pinxt. *J. Brown, sculpt.*

SPENCER PERCEVAL.
By permission of Messrs. Hurst & Blackett

he is not made *Prime Minister*. He has declared this in writing, and if his principle be correct, that the First Minister of this country *must* be in the House of Commons, it must operate to the exclusion of your claims, as well as those of all the nobility. I am informed that until he discovered that you were indifferent on the point of your being at the head of the Treasury, no person was so adverse as he was to your entrance into the Cabinet. This I believe to be a fact that can admit of proof. The result of the whole, however, is that the King is very angry with Canning's conduct, and that the rest of the Cabinet (not including the Duke of Portland and Castlereagh, who are out of office) are determined to make any sacrifice rather than submit to him. They mean, if they can, to get *official* strength from their own friends, and to offer you either the Foreign or War Department; but if they cannot succeed by this arrangement they will then endeavour to gain strength from the Opposition. In short, they are resolved to do anything rather than surrender the King to Canning, and the King is determined to make any sacrifice in order to support them in this resolution. But under the difficulties which now affect Mr. Perceval's friends, under the impossibility of their forming a new Government without calling in the aid of some of the Opposition, the consequent necessity of filling up every office immediately, the uncertainty of your Lordship's sentiments and of your engagements with Canning, and the impression which some persons are endeavouring to give of your

being in concert with that gentleman, it will be impossible for them, with the strongest desire to avail themselves of your services, and the highest estimation of your public character and qualifications, to keep open any office for your acceptance. They are now reduced to the necessity of retiring altogether, or of forming *immediately* a *strong* Government on a permanent basis, which can only be done by an early and judicious distribution of the efficient offices of the Government among those who are on the spot, and at the head of the different parties. But I am desired, both by Pole (who has taken the most *anxious interest* in your welfare, and whose decided and manly conduct on this occasion has secured for him the gratitude and respect of Perceval and all his friends) and by Arbuthnot, who is one of your sincere and steady friends, to assure you that Mr. Perceval and *all* his friends (particularly Lord Mulgrave) feel towards you the strongest sentiments of respect and kindness, and that their cordial wish is to frame their arrangements in such a manner with the Opposition that they may have the benefit of your assistance in the Government, if you should be disposed to take a part with the new administration which it is proposed to form from the friends of Perceval and Lords Grey and Grenville. Your absence is most unfortunate, but they are not to blame for it; and therefore it appears to me that it is impossible for persons to act more honourably than they have done, and *are disposed to do*, in whatever concerns your interests.

You will, of course, receive very full statements

from Canning. It is *my duty*, however, to state to you what I hear on the other side of the question. I have no desire to say anything disrespectful of Mr. Canning, but it would be very improper in me to conceal from you anything that may tend to assist your Lordship's judgment in this delicate and interesting crisis.

I hear from Lord Castlereagh's friends that there has been a great deal of treachery in Canning's conduct; indeed, one of his confidential friends told me this day that he had even been negotiating with Lord Sidmouth; that Lord Castlereagh, however, had *ample proofs* of his treachery, and that they would be immediately given to the *public in a way* that would inevitably destroy Canning's character, and render it impossible for any person to act with him again in a public situation. All this may be exaggerated, but I only mention it to show you that the question which you are now called upon to decide is perhaps the most important, as far as your interests are concerned, that has ever been presented to you.

I hope you will write fully to me by the first opportunity after you may receive this letter, and that you will state to me all that you wish should be done by me. Pole has taken his line, and adheres to the present Government (I mean Perceval and his friends), but if his existence had depended upon your being in office, it would have been impossible for him to have manifested more affection for you, and more zeal for your honour and interests than he has done. He will write to you. His conduct to Perceval and his party

will entitle him to anything he may choose to have. In writing to you, therefore, he can have no other motive than your fame and prosperity. Henry,* I believe, is with Canning. He was to have gone to Lisbon in the room of Mr. Villiers, who has resigned.

* I am doubtful about this. I have not seen Henry [Wellesley]. Canning has *courted* him.[1]

B. Sydenham *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Admiralty: September 19, 1809

Since I wrote to your Lordship on Saturday, matters have taken a more decided turn with regard to the formation of a new Government. I have already stated to you that Canning declared in writing to Perceval the impossibility of his serving under Perceval in the House of Commons, and his consequent expectation of filling the office of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.[2] To this proposition Perceval refused his assent, but also stated in writing his readiness to put *Lord Wellesley* at the head of the Government. To this, however, Canning also objected, and has since resigned, taking with him

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 112.

[2] Canning's words in his letters to Perceval are "that in the event of the Duke of Portland's resignation there must be *a Minister;* that Minister *must be in the House of Commons.* It cannot be disguised that if our party remain in, that Minister must be you or me; and I will fairly own that I never can submit to your filling the office of Prime Minister, and I have too high an opinion of you to suppose that you would submit to my being in that situation." This is the substance.—*Sydenham's note.*

Charles Long,[1] Huskisson,[2] and Sturges-Bourne.[3] There is a suspicion also that he has got the Scotchmen, and indeed he feels himself so confident that he has declared he can form a new Government if the King should wish it.

Under this state of circumstances the remaining Ministers have sent Perceval to the King, who has carried to His Majesty a paper to the following effect.

They have stated to His Majesty that, considering the desertion of Lord Castlereagh (who is just as indignant with this Government as with Canning) of Canning, Huskisson, etc., they do not think that they are likely to form a permanent administration without looking for strength in other quarters; that they therefore propose it to His Majesty, if he should be inclined to wish them to continue in the administration, instead of resorting to Mr. Canning, whom they understood to be ready to undertake the Government alone, to have His Majesty's permission to propose it to

[1] Charles Long (1761-1834), entered Parliament in 1789. He was Joint Secretary to the Treasury, 1791-1801, and in 1804 was appointed by his friend's patron, Pitt, as Lord of the Treasury. In 1806 he became Chief Secretary for Ireland. From 1810 to 1826 he was Paymaster-General, and on his retirement was created Baron Farnborough.

[2] William Huskisson (1770-1830), entered Parliament in 1796, and was Secretary to the Treasury, 1804-1805 and 1807-1809. He was President of the Board of Trade under Liverpool, 1823-1827, and Colonial Secretary, and Leader of the House of Commons, 1827-1828.

[3] William Sturges-Bourne (1769-1845), was in Parliament from 1795 until 1831. He was a Lord of the Treasury, 1807-1809. He was Home Secretary under Canning from April to July 1827.

Lord Grey and Lord Grenville to take a part in the Government, the basis of the treaty to be that each party shall have a moiety of the offices; that if this offer should be accepted, they hope to be enabled to form a very strong Government; if it should not, they are determined, with His Majesty's approbation, to carry on the Government *alone*, or with such strength as they can acquire.

That they are of opinion that *they* cannot carry on the Government with the assistance of their *own friends*, and must therefore look for strength *in other quarters*, but that they understand that Mr. Canning is ready to undertake the Government with the assistance of his own friends. That under these circumstances they request His Majesty to send for Mr. Canning if he wishes to put the Government in his hands; but that if he desires to give the preference to them they beg that he will send for Lords Grenville and Grey, and form, with the assistance of these noblemen and their friends, a new Government of which *half* the offices shall be at the disposal of Mr. Perceval and his friends, and the remainder to be divided among Lord Grenville's and Lord Grey's party.

Mr. Perceval is now with the King at Windsor engaged in this business.

It was the anxious wish of Mr. Perceval to have offered to your Lordship, or rather to have kept open for your acceptance, the Foreign Department.[1]

[1] The present Government, one and all, think it would be of the greatest importance to them to have Lord Wellesley in their Cabinet; and if they were certain that he was with them would unquestionably offer him either the Foreign or War Department. As it has not been possible for anybody

There is some reason to believe that Canning has been at work to strengthen himself, but I should not think that anything that he can do will induce them to yield to his pretensions.

As far as I recollect, you assured him that if he resigned because the Government *was not strengthened* you would support him; and also that you had no objection to accept a Cabinet office under him as Prime Minister.

I know that you always thought his principles regarding the necessity of the Prime Minister being in the House of Commons to be absurd and incorrect, and that you also did not think that he was the fittest man to be at the head of the Government. But I imagine you never could have contemplated the present case, or imagined that you could be called upon to support him in Opposition, because he could not be made *Prime Minister*. I have told Pole that if you should accept any office, I should think, from conversation which I have had with you, that it would be the *Foreign* Office.

I conclude that at all events you will come away from Spain as soon as you can. The people here are become indifferent to that country, and the

to pledge Lord Wellesley upon the subject, they have felt great difficulty in keeping open the Foreign or War Department for him. They feel that they cannot appoint him to either, because they are not certain that he will accept. Were a proposal to Lord Grey and Lord Grenville to be rejected and an administration to be arranged from Perceval's party, the first step in the arrangement would be to nominate Lord Wellesley to one of these offices and to send him notice thereof. The King's feelings towards Lord Wellesley are very favourable; of this there is not any doubt.—*Sydenham's note.*

sudden change in our domestic situation will naturally absorb every portion of the public attention, and render the people still more callous than they are naturally disposed to be on everything connected with the state of foreign affairs, and especially of Spain.[1]

B. SYDENHAM *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Admiralty: September 21, 1809

Some extraordinary circumstances have occurred since my letter of the 19th. Lord Castlereagh has called out Canning, and they this day met and fought at Wimbledon. After exchanging two shots Canning received a wound in the thigh which, though not dangerous at present, is likely to confine him for a month.[2]

Canning's resignation has been accepted, and he is to give up the seals next Wednesday. The proposition which I communicated to you in my letter of the 19th, relative to treating with Lords Grey and Grenville,[3] was submitted to the King, who *desired time to consider it.*

It appears that about 18th July you wrote a letter to Canning in which you advert to the probability of his resigning. In this you say that the circumstance of the probability of his resignation comes before you in such a shape

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 120.

[2] This duel was the outcome of the dissensions in the Cabinet. Castlereagh was of opinion that Canning had been guilty of duplicity in not stating that he had told Portland that he would not continue to serve with Castlereagh. As a matter of fact, Canning had desired Portland at once to inform Castlereagh.

[3] See *The Windham Papers*, ii. 356-365.

as to render it necessary to consider your *own situation* seriously with reference to that event, which you have not done before. You must therefore positively know whether he intends to resign or not ; that you trust in God he will not ; that if Canning resigns he knows you have *positively determined* not to be in the Cabinet, as you do not think the Government could carry on affairs without him ; that it will therefore be necessary for you to know whether Canning is or is not to resign, and if he is to resign, you must know who is to be his successor, lest somebody should be appointed who might give you instructions opposite to those which you have received ; that in case of *his resignation* you must have your letters of *recall*, and that, should he resign during your absence, you must still be at liberty to return home, and have letters of recall. You conclude by giving him permission to show that letter to the Cabinet. *This he never did*, and they of course *never knew* that you went out under such an engagement.

I should tell you that Canning applied to Henry [Wellesley] to be his friend. This Henry declined, not only on account of Castlereagh's general civility to him, but also on account of his recent kindliness towards [Sir] Arthur [Wellesley]. He offered, however, to be of any use to Canning short of going out as his friend against Castlereagh, and accordingly brought up Charles Ellis,[1] who

[1] Charles Rose Ellis (1771-1845), Member of Parliament, and " the acknowledged head of what was known as the West Indian interest." He was raised to the peerage as Baron Seaford in 1826.

was Canning's second. After the duel Canning sent this letter to Pole, who has communicated to me the substance as above as far as he can recollect it. The communication to Pole must have been made in order that the present Government might suppose that you were *engaged* to Canning; for, at the same time, without *communicating to them* at all *on the subject*, he has sent you letters of recall which they only discovered through another channel. This circumstance has thrown them into the greatest embarrassment; they know not how to write to you *privately*, and *officially* no person can write to you excepting Canning, who still has the seals. Lord Liverpool went to Canning's office and saw the letter allowing you to return, and he immediately desired Bagot[1] to go to Canning's and insist in the name of the Cabinet that it should be accompanied by an expression of the anxious wish of the Cabinet that you should not leave Spain until the public service would permit you to do so without danger or inconvenience. Bagot supposes Canning will not consent to this; the letter, however, is to go to-night, and I can only therefore say as much as I have done, not being able to guess what may be the effect of this interposition. In the meanwhile Perceval has written the enclosed letter to Pole, who has given it to me for you, as he still feels

[1] Sir Charles Bagot (1781-1843) entered the House of Commons in 1807, in which year he became Parliamentary Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He was Ambassador to Spain, 1814, to the United States, 1815, to St. Petersburg, 1820, and to the Hague, 1824. He was appointed Governor-General of Canada, 1841.

a great delicacy in doing anything which may have the appearance of interposing in your affairs. He sent to Bathurst, who had left town. The effect of Canning's letter has been to incline Bathurst and Mulgrave, who had both written to you fully, to withdraw their letters under a feeling that you are *pledged* to Canning, and that it would be indelicate in them to write to you under such circumstances. But that letter referred evidently to Canning's *resignation* on the ground of their refusing to strengthen the Government. I am convinced you never contemplated the present case, which rests on different grounds entirely. Canning resigns because they will not make *him* First Minister, not because they refused to make the arrangement in which you agreed to support him. That arrangement was actually completed, and *then* Canning resigns. You may have said: "I have no objection to serve under you as First Minister, if they choose to elect you," but I never recollect your engaging to support him in an attempt to *force* himself upon them and the King as *First Minister*.

This is a most strange state of affairs, and will require your serious attention. In the meanwhile the Government is at a stand, until the King has signified his pleasure with regard to the proposed negotiation with the Opposition. There is still the same disposition of kindness towards you. But this letter of Canning's has embarrassed them, and although I have stated my interpretation of it to Pole, it was impossible for me to interfere in a case of such nice delicacy, and in which only the principals can be relied upon. I have there-

fore kept clear from all parties, but I am most anxious to receive full instructions from you, after you may have received Canning's and my letters. There seems to be a great doubt whether the Scotchmen are with Canning. Robert Dundas[1] is come to town and he says that he shall not take part in any Government unless it is formed upon an *extended* principle ; and whether it is so formed by Canning, or by Perceval, he shall, either in or out of office, support the King. I write this in the greatest haste, as the despatch is now going off.[2]

In the new administration Perceval held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Ryder[3] went to the Home Office, and Liverpool became Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, Camden being Lord President, and Eldon Lord Chancellor. Wellesley was offered the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Bathurst holding the post until Wellesley's reply could be received.

LORD MULGRAVE[4] *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Admiralty : October 5, 1809

Though I know you will be overwhelmed with

[1] Robert Saunders Dundas (1771-1851), the son of Henry Dundas, first Viscount Melville, entered Parliament in 1794. He was President of the Board of Control, 1807, and again in 1828, and First Lord of the Admiralty, 1812-1827, and 1828-1830. He succeeded as (second) Viscount Melville in 1811.

[2] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 118.

[3] Richard Ryder (1766-1832), a younger brother of Dudley Ryder, Earl of Harrowby.

[4] Sir Henry Phipps, third Baron Mulgrave (1755-1831), First Lord of the Admiralty, 1807-1810. He was created Earl of Mulgrave, 1812.

letters I cannot let Sydenham go without saying a few words to you. I suffer an incalculable loss by the removal of Pole to the administration of the Bally-Bog-Tyn-Mary-bog-borough kingdom.[1] I know not how that loss can be in any way compensated but by having the double advantage of your powers and you. I am in the Cabinet. I hope there may be no obstacle ; I do not trouble you with any part of a long story, of which you will have the whole written. I think Pole will be *à la hauteur de sa famille* in administering Ireland. We shall both enjoy his success as brothers, whether we partake it as colleagues or not.[2]

SPENCER PERCEVAL *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *Downing Street*
October 5, 1809

In the absolute state of uncertainty in which I await what your Lordship's determination may be upon the very distasteful circumstances which have taken place amongst us in the administration since your Lordship left England, I have thought that it would be the most satisfactory mode of communicating with your Lordship to send a person whom I know to have your Lordship's confidence, and who, from having been on the spot and having had the means of learning the facts of these transactions, may at once put your Lordship in possession of my feelings and those of your other friends who remain in office, with regard to your Lordship, and also furnish you with

[1] Wellesley-Pole was Chief Secretary for Ireland from 1809 till 1812.

[2] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 299.

the best account of the facts on which your Lordship's judgment will have to be formed.

Mr. Sydenham, therefore, who will be the bearer of this letter, will inform your Lordship that if it had not been for some reasons which induced me to apprehend that you might feel some slight objection to accepting an office in the Cabinet in an administration which His Majesty has, upon the Duke of Portland retiring and upon the resignation of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, entrusted me to form, I should, without further ceremony, have followed my own inclination, and at the same time but discharged my duty to His Majesty and to the interest of his service, by offering to your Lordship the office which Mr. Canning so unhappily has determined to relinquish. What the reasons are, Mr. Sydenham will be able to explain to your Lordship. He will also explain the temporary arrangement which I have His Majesty's authority to make, with the view to affording your Lordship an opportunity of coming into the office as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, if your Lordship would, fortunately for us and for the country, be disposed to accept that important office. Lord Bathurst has agreed to accept it *ad interim*, with the view of relinquishing it upon your Lordship's arrival.

With regard to the circumstance which has led to Mr. Canning's retiring upon the Duke of Portland's resignation, undoubtedly it is connected with my situation particularly. With a view to your Lordship's being as fully in possession of the facts which have led to it as possible, I have

furnished Mr. Sydenham with a copy of such part of the correspondence which has passed between the Duke of Portland, Mr. Canning, and myself upon that subject as I am in possession of, and also a copy of the correspondence between Lords Grey and Grenville and myself, in which you will perceive that Lord Grenville especially puts his objection upon the ground of the *principles* of our Government, which can have no other interpretation than by reference to that question concerning the Roman Catholics, from which we had hoped to furnish his Lordship his best retreat by giving him this opportunity of forming a united administration with ourselves.

I hope all these materials will, with Mr. Sydenham's assistance, enable your Lordship to take a correct view of the situation and of the question which has separated us from Mr. Canning.[1]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* THE HON. WILLIAM WELLESLEY-POLE

Private and confidential *Seville*
October 8, 1809

I have received your kind note of the 18th September, with Sydenham's notes, written under your directions, and Mr. Perceval's letter of the 20th September addressed to you.

The enclosed papers will give you a complete view of my situation, principles, and intentions, as far as they relate to the actual crisis of affairs in England. I cannot imagine by what perversion of idea I have been drawn into a connection with

[1] Add. MSS. 37296 f. 135.

proceedings wholly unauthorised by me in every stage of their course, and in most points directly adverse to my interests and honour. It is not difficult to perceive the distinction between a disposition to serve with a Minister and an engagement to act under him either in or out of office, for the purpose of forcing him into any particular station against the wishes of his colleagues, of his party, of his Sovereign, and even against the opinions of all in my own favour. This, indeed, would be a fantastic example of self-devotion to the personal views of another without any benefit to the public service, or perhaps to the real interests of the aspiring party. The papers enclosed seem to leave nothing for me to add, excepting the expression of my sincere gratitude towards Mr. Perceval and others, friends of his and mine, for the very honourable and disinterested testimony which they have afforded of their confidence and good opinion. The recollection of their conduct will always be a matter of satisfaction and honourable pride to me, far more valuable than the highest distinction of rank or the most extensive attainment of power; and I shall derive great encouragement in every branch of public duty, as well as solid happiness in private life, from the knowledge of their sentiments, expressed in such a crisis, at such a distance from all communication with me, and under such strange circumstances of ambiguity and mystery with regard to my engagements, sentiments, and intentions. I anxiously desire that you will communicate these feelings to Mr. Perceval

in the most respectful manner, with the assurance of the sincere esteem which I entertain for his character and talent.

I am persuaded that Canning himself has no idea of my being subject to any pledge which can involve me in his present pursuit; and although some points in his personal conduct with reference to my pretensions seem to require further light, I cannot persuade myself that he has ever intended to injure me or the public service. I sincerely wish to see him again united with his friends, and acting in a capacity acceptable to himself, to them, and to the King. His means of public service are very considerable, and I have always regarded him with great personal respect and affection.

I am very anxious that the King should be correctly informed of my sentiments, conduct, and views, and for that purpose I wish you would convey to His Majesty's knowledge such of the enclosed papers as may be necessary.

Mr. Perceval will learn my situation and intentions with regard to my continuance in Spain by my despatches. I hope to be able to return to England very soon, according to my original plan, but I must do Canning the justice to observe that the leave of absence which he has sent me is conditional, subject to the same considerations which Mr. Perceval has suggested. Even without any suggestion or condition, I never would have quitted my post with evident danger to the public service. [1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 137.

THE HON. HENRY WELLESLEY *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *September 27, 1809*

The letters you will have received from Sydenham and others will have put you in possession of the very singular state of politics in this country. You will probably have heard of its having been Canning's intention that I should succeed John Villiers[1] at Lisbon; indeed he had actually proposed me to the King for that appointment, who had approved my nomination, and I had come to town from Ramsgate to make preparations for my departure, when I learnt that Canning had submitted to the King his desire to resign.

I was partly apprised of your determination not to continue in Spain in the event of Canning's resignation, and besides feeling that there would be a great awkwardness in my proceeding upon a mission to Lisbon at the very moment when you perhaps might be returning from Spain in consequence of the change in the Foreign Department, I was of opinion that I could not with propriety accept an appointment from a man who had actually sent in his resignation, and who, in all probability, would oppose the measures of the person whose instructions it would be my duty to obey. I also felt that it would not be fair to saddle me upon Canning's successor, who would probably have a friend of his own he might wish

[1] The Hon. John Charles Villiers (1757-1838), Ambassador to Portugal, 1808-1810. He succeeded his brother as (third) Earl of Clarendon in 1824.

to employ. Upon hearing, therefore, that Canning had sent in his resignation, I desired that my appointment might not take place. The letter, of which I enclose a copy, and which Canning put into my hands the night before his duel with Castlereagh, convinced me that I had judged rightly. The situation of Minister at Lisbon at this period cannot, like other diplomatic appointments, be considered as wholly unconnected with politics at home, and I should have felt great concern if I had taken a line directly the reverse of what would appear by the enclosed letter to be your intentions under the circumstances which have actually occurred. I have, however, desired that nothing may be inferred with respect to your political sentiments from my declining the appointment to Lisbon, and have distinctly stated to Canning and to my personal friends on the other side that I beg to be considered as belonging to no party whatever, and that I am determined to await your arrival in England, being at present entirely ignorant of the line you may think fit to take.

I have adopted this course from the dread of the family being split into parties, which indeed has already happened in the cases of Pole and Charles Bagot, one of whom continues at the Admiralty with Mulgrave, while the other retires with Canning. It is difficult to conceive the violence which prevails on each side of the question, greater than I ever before remember. Perceval, I think, will not be able to form an administration without taking in the Grenvilles and Foxites; it

is said, indeed, that Lord Grenville and Lord Grey have been sent to——. If they came in, I fear there is an end of Pitt's friends, for the division of offices and of power will be the *partage du lion*. I believe the accounts which have hitherto been sent to you are all on one side of the question, and as I wish to put you in possession of the arguments on both sides, I enclose a copy of a letter from Huskisson to Robert Dundas, which is admitted by Canning to be the best statement of all that has occurred.

I suppose Canning has apprised you that, in consequence of the authority you left with him, he has submitted to the King your desire to be recalled, assuring the King at the same time that he might be satisfied you would not avail yourself of it to the prejudice of the public service.[1]

Wellesley accepted the Foreign Office in the Perceval administration, and remained in Spain only until the arrival of his brother Henry, who was appointed to succeed him as Ambassador-Extraordinary.

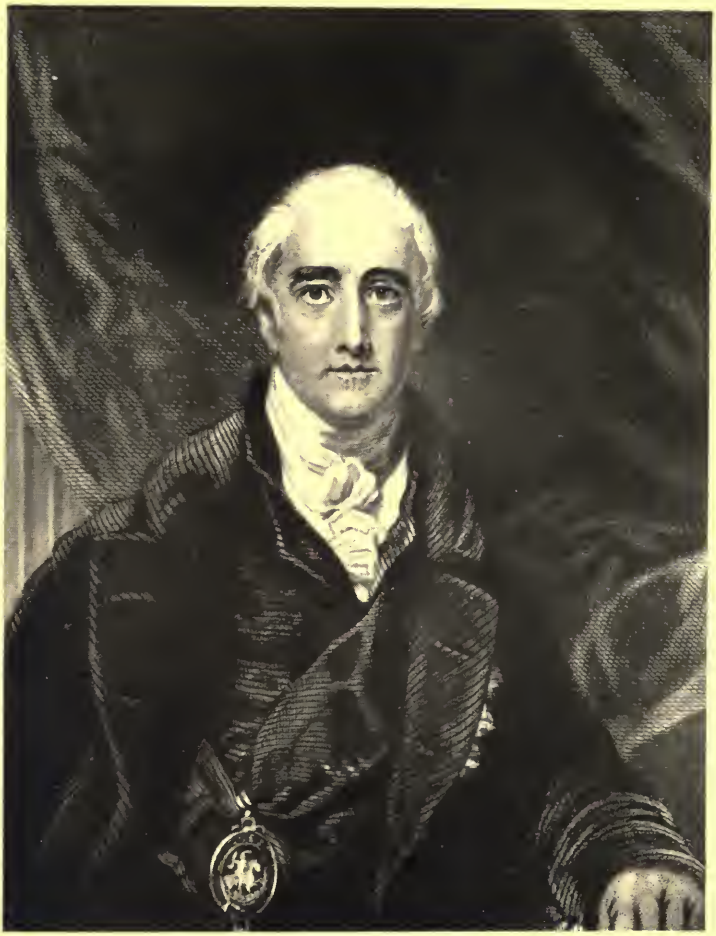
GEORGE CANNING *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private and confidential *Claremont*
October 28, 1809

I have to acknowledge your letters of the 7th inst.

I am deeply sensible of all the kindness which you express towards me, but I cannot find words

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 131.



Sir T. Lawrence, pinxt. *G. Cook, sculpt.*

RICHARD COLLEY, MARQUESS WELLESLEY

to express the astonishment which has been created in my mind by the view which appears to have been presented to you of the late transactions so far as regards yourself.

As you do not mention the particulars of what has been reported to you, I am at a loss to understand it precisely. But I collect your impression to be that your pretensions to the situation of First Minister were put forward by Perceval, recognised by the rest of the Cabinet, sanctioned by the King, and rejected by me alone.

I cannot help wishing that before you had given credit to such a statement you had paused a moment to consider its absurdity. What possible power of rejection could I have that should defeat a proposition so supported and so approved?

If the Cabinet had advised the King, and the King had approved the advice, to make you First Minister, in God's name why are you not so?

If my single opposition was, as it appears to have been represented to you, the sole impediment to this nomination, that impediment was removed by my resignation.

It cannot have been imagined that my resignation would prevent your accepting office at all because an offer has been made to you of the office which I resigned. And how can it have been supposed that my resignation should operate to cover your pretensions, either in the King's estimation or in your own?

I gave in my resignation through the Duke of Portland, on Wednesday the 6th of September, in consequence of the information which I received

from his Grace on that day of the new and unexpected difficulties which would attend the execution of the promised change in the War Department: difficulties of such a nature as determined me not to claim that execution, but determined me at the same time to execute the alternative which I had always resolved upon executing in such a case—that of my own retirement.

From that day forth I continued to discharge the duties of my office only till my successor should be named. I never for a moment either retracted or qualified my resignation.

The letter of the 12th September (of which I sent you a copy) was not an original proposition then brought forward by me. It was written for the purpose of enabling the Duke of Portland to lay before the King those opinions which in the former week Perceval had *extorted* from me in confidence, which I never had intended to go beyond himself; which at his solicitation I gave him permission to communicate (for a specified object) to three persons whom he named—Lord Harrowby, Lord Liverpool, and his brother Lord Arden; and which he had afterwards, certainly against my intention, but I doubt not with the best intentions on his part, communicated generally to our colleagues.

But my resignation was totally independent of these opinions, and would have taken place equally on the ground on which it did take place, if Perceval and I had never exchanged a word on the subject of the succession to the Duke of Portland.

As to the opinions themselves, I am little anxious about them. I think them true. They may be false or exaggerated. But if they are so, why has the Cabinet acted upon them?

Perceval is First Lord of the Treasury. Why is this so? and why is it proposed to you to be only a Secretary of State? If *I alone* contended for the expediency of a First Minister in the House of Commons, and if Perceval, and the rest of the Cabinet, with the sanction of the King, were for making you First Lord of the Treasury, surely when I was once out of the way this arrangement was open and easy to them.

But, in truth, no such proposition as that which you appear to believe me to have rejected was ever, to my knowledge or belief, seriously in agitation. I will not take it upon me to say that your name was not mentioned, and by different persons, among half a dozen others, as one of the natural candidates for the Duke of Portland's office. Undoubtedly it must have been so, undoubtedly it was so—but never, to my knowledge or belief, by any authority. Undoubtedly, too, Perceval said to me more than once that he wished I would propose somebody or anybody for that office, and expressed a hope that, *with some explanation as to his own relative situation to that person, whoever he might be,* he should be able to go on. But that I had anything like the assurance, which you seem to suppose, of the general consent of our colleagues to *your* nomination, or still more of the sanction of the King, I utterly deny. I will add that I entirely disbelieve such a proposal

coming from me would have been so sanctioned. I may be wrong in this impression; I hope I am so. But if so, the proof of the sincerity of those who have told you what they *would* have advised, or to what they *would have agreed*, is easy to be had. *Have* they advised it? *Has* the King called upon you to undertake the Government?

If no such offer has been made, if all that you have been called upon to undertake is my vacant office under Perceval, Prime Minister, I claim of your fairness and of our friendship that you shall not believe, but shall reject, as I would do in your case, as an unworthy attempt to set us at variance with each other, the insinuation that it is to any indisposition of mine that you are to attribute your not being called to the head of the Government.

But I do not stop here. I will give you, on my part, an irrefragable proof of my sincere good disposition towards you.

If the King calls upon you to undertake the Government, and if you do undertake it, and if, having undertaken it, you are desirous of asking my assistance, I am ready to listen to any proposal which you may think fit to make to me, and to discuss it fairly with you. Do not misunderstand me. I do not *wish* to return to office, but I will prove to you that I am not the bar to your supremacy in the Government if it is otherwise (which, however, I do not believe) within your reach. And upon this issue I am ready to leave the question.

This is what is most material in your letters. There are many, many other points upon which you appear to have been misinformed, but there is only one upon which I think it worth while at present to trouble you with any observation. You imagine that Lord Castlereagh's resignation *preceded* mine. No such thing. It followed mine, it grew out of mine, and but for mine I am intimately and confidently persuaded it never would have taken place at all.

I gave in mine, as I have told you, through the Duke of Portland, on Wednesday, the 6th September. On Thursday I declined attending the Cabinet on the ground that I considered my resignation as being in His Majesty's hands, and could not therefore properly enter upon any new questions in Council. My non-attendance at the Cabinet produced (as I understand) an enquiry on the part of Lord Castlereagh which led to the disclosure to him by Lord Camden of all that Lord Camden ought to have told him months before. And *in consequence* of this communication Lord Castlereagh resigned.

P.S. Upon looking over your letters and the enclosure in the second of them again, I see there is one other point of great importance upon which you have been so grossly deceived, that I ought not to lose any time in undeceiving you, especially as much of your reasoning is built upon the false notion which you have received of this point. You seem to imagine that the Duke of Portland's resignation happening to take place when it did, I on that occasion voluntarily gave up all thoughts

of the arrangement which had been in contemplation, and claimed the Duke's office for myself. You remind me how often you pressed me to be prepared for the events of the Duke's resignation, and how essential it would have been to strengthen the Government *before* it.

I do assure you, you cannot have been more sensible to the importance of these objects than I was. But it was for the very purpose of defeating them that the Duke of Portland's resignation was *precipitated* when I least expected it. Perceval, on the 28th of August, seeing the time approaching when I should claim the execution of the promise respecting the War Department, began the correspondence which led to a confession of my opinions upon the arrangement most advisable to be made *whenever* the Duke of Portland should retire. Of that retirement there was then no question. On the 2nd of September I wrote to the Duke of Portland, reminding him that the time was come for writing to you. On the 4th Perceval, having heard of my letter, wrote to the Duke urging him to resign, for the avowed purpose of covering Castlereagh's retreat in a general arrangement; but with the further object, if one may judge from the use which has been made of it, of being enabled to attribute *my* resignation—which would obviously be the immediate result of the Duke's communications to me respecting the difficulties of the promised arrangement—to the cause to which, by the representations sent to you, I find you have been led to attribute it.

I resigned, and I should have resigned if the

Duke of Portland had continued in office, on finding faith broken with me in respect of the War Department.

By bringing on the Duke of Portland's resignation contemporaneously with his disclosure to me of the manner in which I had been trifled with, it was hoped that they should so confound the motives of my resignation as to deceive the world, but I did not think they would have succeeded to such an extent and with *you*.[1]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* LORD MULGRAVE

Private *Seville: October* 30, 1809

I have received your friendly and affectionate letters of the 22nd September and 5th October with the most cordial sentiments of gratitude and satisfaction. You will know from Mr. Perceval that I have obeyed the summons of my Sovereign and of my friends, and that I shall enter the King's councils with a firm intention of devoting my exertions to His Majesty's cause. I assure you that the consideration of acting with you is very material to my confidence and comfort, and I hope we may yet be able to effect much good.

Nothing can be more grateful to me than the continuance of your good opinion and friendship, if we were not acquainted before. The voyage on which we are now embarked together will *probably* afford some opportunities of mutual acquaintance. I really feel for your loss in my brother William. You will find it very difficult to replace him.[2]

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 141.
[2] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 153.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* EARL BATHURST

Private *Seville: October* 30, 1809

In answer to your very kind letters of the 22nd September and 5th October, I am happy to be able to state that I have accepted the seals of the Foreign Office, and that I mean to return to England early in the next week, expecting to-morrow or next day to receive my brother Arthur at Seville. It would be superfluous in this letter to explain all the motives of my conduct; you will learn them from Pole if you choose to enquire; but as you already have expressed what you wished, and as I have done it, I know that you must think it consistent with my interests and honour and with the prosperity of the public service.

I feel most deeply your kindness in having submitted to the inconvenience and embarrassment of holding the seals for me. I am as eager to return as you can be to receive me. As for abuse, I am so accustomed to that diet that it has now become necessary to my constitution.[1]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* THE HON. HENRY WELLESLEY

Private *Seville: October* 30, 1809

I have received your kind letter of the 22nd of September, and Sydenham's arrival here on the 27th of October has made me fully acquainted with every circumstance relating to your conduct in the late difficult and extraordinary crisis. You have behaved with the greatest judgment,

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 157.

honour, and affection towards me, and if it were possible to augment my good opinion or love for you, the experience of the last month would have raised you to the highest point in my heart and understanding. I shall say no more at present than that I have accepted the Foreign Office, and that I shall return to England early in next week. I advise you not to decide your own situation (unless you should be particularly desirous of going to Lisbon) until my arrival.

You may rely on my using every effort to place you in a situation worthy of you and acceptable to you.

Pole can tell you the motives of my conduct. Is Canning insane, or determined from the first to join Opposition? I cannot understand any part of his conduct, excepting his jealousy of my pretensions.[1]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* SPENCER PERCEVAL

Private *Seville: October* 30, 1809

Mr. Sydenham arrived at this place on the 27th inst. in the evening and delivered to me your obliging letter of the 5th, together with the papers to which it refers. I return you many thanks for your very kind attention in employing Mr. Sydenham as the channel of communication on this interesting and important occasion. The papers, which he has fully explained to me by reference to every circumstance of the late extraordinary events in England, combined with such information as had already reached me, leave no

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 163.

doubt in my mind with regard to the principles both of public and private duty which should govern my conduct in the present crisis and in the actual situation of His Majesty's service.

I therefore accept without hesitation the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and I shall return to England with all practicable expedition for the purpose of discharging the duties of that important station with the zeal and attention which His Majesty may justly claim from a person so deeply indebted to his gracious favour, and which he may expect from the whole tenor of my public life and services.

I am particularly flattered by His Majesty's indulgent consideration and by the kindness which you and my friends in office have manifested in the temporary appointment of a person whom I value so highly and affectionately as Lord Bathurst; this arrangement is the strongest proof which could be afforded of His Majesty's condescending goodness, as well as of the confidence and goodwill of those with whom I am to act in His Majesty's service.

You will probably have known from my brother William that as early as the 7th of this month my sentiments upon the whole course of the recent transactions in England were completely fixed, and you may rest assured that I shall enter His Majesty's councils with a firm determination to exert every effort within my power for the maintenance of His Majesty's Government on the basis which he has been pleased to approve, and for the despatch of the public business, and

the prosperity of the public interests, in the hands to which he has been pleased to commit them.

It will be peculiarly satisfactory to me to share this trust with persons to many of whom I have been closely united in friendship and affection for the greater part of my life, and for all of whom I entertain a high respect and esteem.[1]

GEORGE CANNING *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private and confidential *Gloucester Lodge*
November 4, 1809

In confirmation of what I wrote to you on the 28th October I send you the copy of a letter which I addressed to Perceval on the same day, and of the answer which I have received from him.

Perhaps I shall now have some right to ask of you from what source that intelligence was derived on which you founded your letter to me of the 7th October ?

If, however, you think yourself under obligation not to mention your authority, or if it would be painful to you to do so, I do not press for the disclosure.

But I do most earnestly entreat and insist (with the freedom and the right of friendship) that that same authority shall never be received and acted upon again in anything relating to yourself and me—without suspicion and without due notice and enquiry.

I will only add that to the list of names mentioned in Perceval's letter might be added those of Lord Lonsdale, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Titchfield,

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 167.

and even of Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, as having been proposed either by him or by others, *exactly as much as yours;* with exactly as much concert on the part of the Cabinet, and exactly as much approbation on the part of the King —and with exactly the same right to each of them that your informer led you to suppose yourself to have, to say that *I* alone opposed and defeated *his* appointment to the Premiership.

But, in truth, it is unnecessary for me to say anything after Perceval's letter, which I hope will set your mind at rest upon the subject.[1]

SPENCER PERCEVAL *to* THE KING, *relative to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY'S *Garter*

November 30, 1809

Mr. Perceval humbly acquaints Your Majesty that, previous to the arrival of Lord Wellesley in this country, Mr. Perceval thought it advisable in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding with the Duke of Richmond upon the subject of the late Duke of Portland's[2] Ribbon, to prevail upon Lord Bathurst to represent the exact state of the law with regard to that Ribbon as connected with the application which the Duke of Portland had made to Your Majesty on behalf of Lord Wellesley, and of Lord Wellesley's anxiety upon the subject of it. Mr. Perceval also ventured to mention that after the subject had been so opened to his Grace by Lord Bathurst, Mr. Perceval wrote to him himself, and did not withhold from

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 177.

[2] The Duke of Portland died on October 29, 1809.

him the knowledge of the gracious manner in which Your Majesty had spoken to Mr. Perceval of his Grace upon the subject of this vacant ribbon, but he stated that he thought it necessary to take no steps with regard to it till Lord Wellesley came home; and Mr. Perceval has the satisfaction to acquaint Your Majesty that his Grace the Duke of Richmond, in expressing his most grateful sense of your Majesty's kindness toward him, has in the most handsome manner desired that Mr. Perceval should understand that if it should be found at all desirable for the benefit of Your Majesty's service under the circumstances in which Your Majesty's Government is now placed, that Your Majesty should take this opportunity of giving that order to Lord Wellesley, his Grace would readily decline urging any pretension to it whatever. Mr. Perceval has now found, since Lord Wellesley's arrival, that his Lordship does feel extremely anxious upon this subject. He has introduced it to Mr. Perceval's notice through Mr. Arbuthnot,[1] to whom he has expressed his feelings upon it in the strongest manner, thinking that the interest with which the Duke of Portland had represented his Lordship's views upon this subject to Your Majesty gave him a great claim upon Mr. Perceval to request Your Majesty to

[1] Charles Arbuthnot (1767-1850), who in 1803 was Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, was in the following year appointed Ambassador-Extraordinary to Constantinople. He returned to England in 1807, and two years later re-entered Parliament. From 1809 to 1823 he was one of the Joint-Secretaries of the Treasury. In his later life he was the confidential friend of the Duke of Wellington.

grant this mark of Your Majesty's approbation and favour to him. Mr. Perceval has since seen Lord Wellesley, has explained to his Lordship what the Duke of Richmond's wishes were upon the point, and he added as his own private opinion that he thought his Lordship would judge better for himself if he omitted to press this object at this time ; that it would be open to unfavourable interpretation, as connected with his accepting his present office, but that if he continued really to wish it, Mr. Perceval would certainly submit his wishes to Your Majesty with his humble recommendation that they should be complied with. His Lordship thought that as it was so well known by Lord Grenville and others what his pretensions were to ask this favour, and as the fact was that he had actually signified his intention to accept office before he knew the Duke of Portland's death had made the vacancy, it would not be possible that his conduct could with any degree of justice be open to such interpretation, and he therefore did express his wish very strongly that Mr. Perceval should humbly present his anxious desire to Your Majesty upon this subject.

Mr. Perceval accordingly does submit to Your Majesty that in his humble opinion it is, under the circumstances of his Lordship's strong anxiety to obtain this honour, desirable that Your Majesty should confer it upon his Lordship, if Your Majesty should be graciously pleased so to do.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 181.

THE KING *to* MR. PERCEVAL

Windsor Castle : December 1, 1809

Although the King acquiesced in Mr. Perceval's wish that the vacant Blue Ribbon should be conferred on Lord Wellesley, His Majesty considers that this previous suggestion to Lord Wellesley was perfectly well founded, and that it is to be regretted that it did not receive due attention. At the present season of the year it would not be possible to collect a sufficient number of Knights of the Garter for the ceremony of investing Lord Wellesley, nor can the delay be material.[1]

SPENCER PERCEVAL *to* THE KING

Mr. Perceval transmits for Your Majesty's perusal Lord Wellesley's answer to Mr. Perceval's letter acquainting his Lordship with Your Majesty's gracious concurrence in Mr. Perceval's humble recommendation, that Your Majesty should be pleased to confer the late Duke of Portland's Garter upon Lord Wellesley. Mr. Perceval trusts that Your Majesty will think that he would not be doing justly by Lord Wellesley if he withheld from Your Majesty the expressions of his Lordship's gratitude upon this occasion.[2]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* SPENCER PERCEVAL

Private and confidential *Apsley House*

December 2, 1809

I have returned a separate answer on the subject of the Garter. I must, however, add in

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 183.
[2] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 185.

this note my very warm thanks for the great kindness and flattering attention which I have received from you on this occasion.

With regard to the proposed delay, I wish to submit entirely to His Majesty's pleasure. It is, however, very desirable that the honour should follow my Spanish Embassy as closely as possible. Instances may be found of publishing the honour in the *Gazette* before (and I believe even without) formal investiture; you will find those cases by reference. But I leave the whole of that point to your discretion.[1]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* SPENCER PERCEVAL

Private — *Apsley House*
December 2, 1809

I am most deeply sensible of His Majesty's gracious favour in the intention which he has been pleased to signify of conferring upon me the high honour of the Order of the Garter.[2] I request you to assure His Majesty that my zeal for his service required no incitement, and that my gratitude for the long course of favours and goodness which I have experienced since I have had the satisfaction to serve him could not be increased. But the distinction which His Majesty has now been pleased to grant to me is so peculiarly calculated to mark to the world His Majesty's approbation (after full knowledge) of my endeavours to

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 191.

[2] Wellesley was not installed as a Knight of the Garter until March 10, 1810. He then retired from the Order of St. Patrick.

serve him and my country in many arduous situations, that I cannot receive the notification of the King's pleasure on this occasion without returning a most particular expression of my humble thanks and most cordial satisfaction. With respect to the particular moment of completing the ceremony necessary for the investiture, I am too sensible of His Majesty's condescension to feel any other inclination than that of awaiting the King's pleasure.

I request you to accept my sincere acknowledgments for your kindness on this occasion, and to believe that no more acceptable addition could be made to His Majesty's favour than that it should be communicated through a person so justly entitled to high respect and esteem.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 189.

BOOK V

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 1809-1812

BOOK V

SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS
December 1809 to January 1812

CHAPTER I

General opinion of Wellesley : Creevey's criticism : Difficulties of his situation : Lord Holland's tribute : Wellesley's Garter : British policy in the Peninsula : Spanish mistrust : Reform essential to success : Wellesley on Wellington's achievements : Unsuccessful attempt to rescue the King of Spain : Reinforcements needed in Portugal : The Near Eastern question : The defence of Cadiz : The situation in the Peninsula : Progress of the siege of Cadiz.

ON December 12, 1809, Wellesley kissed hands as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The value of his work in India being as yet unappreciated, he was generally regarded, at least by the public, as a man of little importance, though few thought of him as poorly as Creevey, who, on January 8, 1810, wrote to Lord Milton : " The Marquess . . . is a great calamity inflicted upon England, and I heard to-day that, upon this last business with America, he has sent a proposal to her, the alternative of which is war. Here is the advantage of having the Conqueror of the East for Foreign Secretary." Wellesley assumed office when almost all Europe was under the sway of Napoleon, and when England was

apparently on the verge of a struggle with the United States, owing to the favour shown by that country to France. His difficulties were aggravated by the fact that the Government was weak, that for the Prime Minister he had a supreme disdain, and that he could expect little backing from a Cabinet divided against itself.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* THE KING

Foreign Office : December 17, 1809

The Marquess Wellesley has the honour to submit to Your Majesty an official note received this day from Prince Starkemberg,[1] requesting passports for himself and his suite, and also desiring a flag of truce for the return of the Austrian messenger lately arrived from Paris.

It is proposed, with Your Majesty's gracious approbation, to grant Prince Starkemberg's requests.

A private note from Prince Starkemberg is also submitted to Your Majesty's notice.

The Marquess Wellesley proposes to submit for Your Majesty's approbation some observations on the late Treaty of Peace between Austria and France,[2] to accompany the official answer to Prince Starkemberg.[3]

[1] Prince Ludwig Joseph Max Starkemberg, Austrian Ambassador to the Court of St. James's.

[2] The Treaty of Schönbrunn (or Vienna) between France and Austria was signed on October 15, 1809, by which Austria ceded to France the Tyrol, Dalmatia, and other territory.

[3] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 175.

GEORGE III IN HIS PARLIAMENTARY ROBES
From an engraving

Charles Arbuthnot *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Private *Treasury Chambers*
December 12, 1809

When I was last at Blackheath, I had a great deal of conversation with Mrs. Pole about William,[1] and it was impossible for me not to confess to her that I could not in future treat him with the very cordial affection which I had formerly borne towards him. As she had heard from you that he had even spoken disrespectfully of his father, she was not surprised to learn that I had not been spared ; but, anxious as she is to attempt reclaiming him, I being certain that he looks up more to your Lordship than to any other person, she made me promise that I would entreat you to send for and to lecture him. She wishes it the more in consequence of a letter to her from his father, who is expecting to find him greatly improved, and of whose disappointment she dreads the effects.

There was an Opposition dinner on Sunday last at Devonshire House, when you were highly praised. The Prince [of Wales] spoke of you in the highest terms, and Lord Holland,[2] who said that he was not personally acquainted with you, bore testimony to your statesmanlike abilities.

[1] William Pole Wellesley (1788-1857), son of the Hon. William Wellesley-Pole (who succeeded to the Irish earldom of Mornington in 1842). In 1812 he married the heiress, Miss Tylney-Long, and assumed her name. He entered Parliament in 1812, and in 1845 succeeded his father as (fourth) Earl of Mornington.

[2] Henry Richard Vassall Fox, third Baron Holland (1773-1840), nephew of Charles James Fox, who took an active part in politics. He was Lord Privy Seal, 1806-1807.

I believe that on Friday I shall go to Huskisson's for a few days. I shall please him with all that you have said about him, and it would please me greatly if I could report him as still belonging to us.

I do not now intrude on your time, well knowing how unceasingly it must be occupied. I entered Perceval's room yesterday the moment that you had left it. Had I found you, I could have given you an account of my visit to the Persian, which appeared to be well taken ; and it was the better taken as I could talk to him of Turkish and Persian affairs.[1]

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* THE KING

Foreign Office : December 17, 1809

The Marquess Wellesley has the honour to acquaint Your Majesty that Mr. Erskine,[2] Your Majesty's late Minister in America, has expressed his desire to be presented to Your Majesty at the next *levée*.

It has not been thought necessary to refuse him the honour of being presented to Your Majesty in the ordinary manner by Your Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ; but it has been fully explained that although Mr. Erskine could not completely be denied access to Your Majesty's

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 319.

[2] David Montagu Erskine (1776-1855), eldest son of Thomas, first Baron Erskine, was appointed in 1806 Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. He returned to England in 1809, and was not again employed until 1824, when he was given minor diplomatic posts in Germany. In 1823 he succeeded to his father's title.

presence, he is not to infer from that indulgence any diminution of the disapprobation which has been signified to him respecting various circumstances in his conduct in America, of which he proposes to offer further explanation.

With this reserve Lord Wellesley hopes to meet Your Majesty's gracious approbation in presenting Mr. Erskine to Your Majesty in the ordinary manner on Wednesday next.[1]

SPENCER PERCEVAL *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Downing Street: December 20, 1809

I did not receive your note of last night till this morning. I would otherwise have written upon the subject of it to the King last night, but I will mention it at the *levée* this day.

I can assure you that I have no wish or feeling upon the subject of your Lordship's Garter,[2] but that it should be conferred upon you in such a manner as may at once be most satisfactory to yourself and best mark the King's approbation of your former services, and his satisfaction at having the advantage of them again; and nothing shall be wanting on my part to endeavour to accomplish these objects. With this view, I should have been glad, if possible, that it should have been conferred upon you on the very first day of your appearance at Court. As to the delay which has taken place, your Lordship knows all that has passed between the King and me upon that point. That I have not pressed this subject

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 176.
[2] *See ante*, p. 280.

on the King in regard to the time at which this honour should be conferred, has been owing solely to my understanding from you that, however much you wished its acceleration, yet you preferred waiting, to having it pressed against the feelings and the wishes of the King. I do hope that I have been right in believing that my forbearing to press it upon the King has been really in conformity to your wishes, and that I have not deceived myself upon that head. I will this day infallibly mention it to the King. I will state to him the awkward and unpleasant constructions which you hear that our adversaries endeavour to put upon the delay, and your Lordship shall hear what the King's remaining objections are, if there are any; and I will then urge it again, in any manner that you yourself may wish, if I should not in my conversation to-day bring the subject in your opinion to a satisfactory conclusion.[1]

THE HON. HENRY WELLESLEY *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

January 25, 1810

The following are the points upon which particular instructions to the Minister in Spain[2] would appear to be necessary:

1st. With regard to our relations with the Supreme Junta, which it is absolutely necessary should be placed upon a different footing. For

[1] Add. MSS. 37295 f. 203.

[2] The state of Spain had not materially altered since Wellesley was Ambassador-Extraordinary.

this purpose the Minister should take a higher tone than has yet been assumed, and endeavour to obtain a preponderating influence in the Spanish Councils; but there is much reason to apprehend that this never can be effected without a radical change in the Government, and the British Minister should use every effort in order to effect this change. The existing Government in Spain is so unpopular that it is probable the Junta will ultimately be compelled to consent to the appointment of a Regency, and as it is probable that the different opinions with regard to the persons of whom the Regency should be composed will occasion much violence, it should be recommended, in order to reconcile all differences upon this important subject, that the existing law with respect to Regencies which excludes all branches of the Royal Family should be strictly adhered to.

2nd. The British Minister should endeavour to establish an intimate communication with the principal Members of the Cortes, and to urge the immediate reform of all abuses in Spain; he should urge the expediency of proceeding immediately to this reform as tending more than any other measure to rouse the whole kingdom against the French. He should make it his business to bring together all persons who are known to be well affected to the Spanish cause, and who from their high birth, their influence, or their talents, are likely to be serviceable to their country. We should endeavour to impress upon the minds of these persons, as well as upon the Spanish Government,

the impossibility of any cordial co-operation with Spain on the part of His Majesty until the impressions of jealousy with respect to the designs of His Majesty, which we know to have existed in the Spanish Government, shall be entirely removed.

3rd. That His Majesty and his Government have but one object, the deliverance of Spain from the yoke of France, so that anything which his Minister may have occasion to suggest, either with respect to their government, their armies, or their fleets, will be solely for the advantage of the cause for which they are contending, and not for any exclusive benefit which can be derived by His Majesty. It should be constantly urged that His Majesty proposes to himself no other advantage from the complete success of the war in Spain than a perpetual alliance against the tyrannical and encroaching system of the French Government —an alliance which, considering their relative situations, would be attended with much more important advantages to Spain than to England.

Adverting to the principles upon which His Majesty has afforded such powerful assistance to the Spanish cause, and to the spirit of the treaty of alliance subsisting between the two nations, His Majesty has a perfect right to insist upon the immediate removal of the Spanish and French (*sic*) fleets from the position which they now occupy to a place of greater security. But great delicacy is necessary in the management of this subject. The fleet is now in a position where, if the French were to succeed in crossing the Sierra and to

advance upon Cadiz, they might easily destroy or get possession of it ; but such is the unaccountable jealousy entertained of our designs, that the Government is unwilling to remove the fleet, because it will then be placed in a situation where it might be possible for a British fleet to attack it. The same jealousy prevails with respect to the admission of a British garrison into Cadiz. These are, therefore, points to be managed with the utmost nicety, but nevertheless to be insisted upon as absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the alliance.

If the Junta should manifest any inclination to throw obstacles in the way of the assembly of the Cortes, the Minister is to state in the most forcible terms the urgent necessity of their being immediately assembled. The Junta is become so unpopular that one of the first points for the deliberation of the Cortes will probably be the formation of a Regency. The British Minister is to urge the expediency of the immediate adoption of this measure with all the Members of the Cortes over whom he may have acquired an influence, or who may be disposed to confide in him. He is, however, to be particularly careful not to do anything which may excite the jealousy of the Princess of Brazil, of the reigning family of Sicily, or of any other of the members of the Royal family who may possess an hereditary claim to the crown of Spain.

No opportunity is to be lost of urging the necessity of the immediate removal of the Spanish fleet from its present position. This is to be urged

to the uttermost point as essential to the maintenance of the treaty of alliance.

It will be desirable to consult Lord Wellington with regard to the distribution of the arms which are now going to Spain, and of those which may be sent there from time to time. It should, however, be observed as a principle that the arms are to be distributed to the regular troops only, but every effort is to be made to encourage the war of partisans and to keep alive the spirit of animosity to the French now prevailing throughout the country.

The ultimate hope of success to the Spanish cause rests principally upon the improvement in their Government, upon the reform of abuses, and upon the formation of a regularly well-appointed and well-disciplined army ; and no means are to be neglected to enforce upon the persons with whom the Minister may have to communicate officially, or upon those members of the Cortes with whom he may be enabled to establish an intercourse, the extreme importance of an early attention to these subjects.

Another subject of equal, if not of greater, importance is the state of our trade with Spanish America, which is even upon a less advantageous footing for England than it was previous to the peace with Spain. The representations of individuals concerned in this trade, who have been treated with grave injustice and oppression by the agents of the Spanish Government, have been entirely neglected. It is necessary that this trade should be placed immediately upon a proper footing.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 200.

In the House of Lords Lord Liverpool had, on January 26, 1810, moved, "That the thanks of this House be given to Viscount Wellington, the officers and the army under his command, for the skill and ability, the valour and bravery by which they obtained a victory over the enemy at Talavera." This had been supported by Lord Mountjoy, and then opposed by Lord Grey, on the grounds that it was open to grave doubt whether Talavera was a victory at all. Wellesley, replying to Grey, made an eloquent speech in support of the vote of thanks. "In a military sense perhaps nothing more could be said of the result of that battle than that the British troops had succeeded in repulsing the attack of a French army almost double their numbers, the efforts of which had been chiefly directed against the British troops," so ran the latter portion of his speech. "But was there no skill, no bravery, no perseverance displayed in the mode in which that repulse was effected? Did no glory redound from it to the character of the British arms? Has it not been acknowledged even by the enemy as the severest which they have yet sustained? Now as to the consequences. Were they really such as to disparage the merits, and mar the splendour of that day? I will boldly maintain that the defeat of the enemy at Talavera has essentially contributed to the main objects of the campaign. For, unless that blow had been struck against

Victor, it would have been impossible to prevent the enemy from overrunning the south of Spain, or from making a fresh irruption into Portugal. It saved the south of Spain from absolute destruction. It has afforded time to Portugal to reorganise her army, and to strengthen her military ports. It also enabled Lord Wellington to take a position where he might derive supplies from Spain at the same time that he drew nearer to his own magazines. Were not all these achievements essential to the objects of the expedition? And what was the general result? Until then, the French armies had been acting vigorously against Spain and Portugal; but since the battle of Talavera they have been compelled to abandon their offensive operations and to resume the defensive. I shall not attempt to diminish the disasters which afterwards befell the Spanish armies. Both my brother and I had earnestly advised the Spaniards to keep to their defensive positions; but, flushed with the victory of Talavera, and with hopes too sanguine of further successes, they advanced at all points, and the result but too fatally justified the propriety of the advice that had been given to them. But I will not go into any critical disquisition of military discretion. It is enough for me to have shown that in the prosecution and attainment of the objects on which he was employed, Lord Wellington made a judicious application of the means

Sir T. Lawrence, pinxt.

ARTHUR WELLESLEY, 1ST DUKE OF WELLINGTON

entrusted to his hands, and derived from them every advantage to which they could be turned. He arrested the progress of the French armies into the south of Spain, and procured a breathing time for Portugal to organise the forces, and improve all her means of defence. I will not take it upon me to say that Portugal was placed in a state of complete security, but I may safely assert that time has been gained for producing an essential improvement in the condition of her army, so that it will be enabled effectually to assist and co-operate with the British troops. In fine, Portugal was placed in a greater degree of security than at any period since she had been menaced by France. All these advantages are fairly to be ascribed to the skill, the courage, and the activity which directed the exertions of Lord Wellington and his army, and upon the whole I do not hesitate to say that my brother is as justly entitled to every distinction which his Sovereign has conferred upon him, and to every honour and reward which it is in the power of the House to bestow, as any noble Lord who for his personal services had obtained the same distinctions, and who sits here by descent from his illustrious ancestors."[1] In the end the motion was carried *nem. dis.*

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, xv. 150.

LADY MORNINGTON *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Hampton Court Palace: January 28, 1810

I cannot refrain from writing a few lines to express my extreme delight at your *performance* on Friday.[1] In my opinion there never was anything so perfect of the kind, and I have the pleasure of being certain that by all parties this is the idea formed of it. I trust now that you will go on, for *I* was much annoyed by your silence.[2]

Wellesley now bethought himself of rescuing the King of Spain. Charles IV. of Spain had abdicated the throne when the French army crossed the frontiers of his country, and his son Ferdinand VII. succeeded. Ferdinand, however, was taken prisoner by Napoleon and imprisoned in the Castle of Valençay, and Joseph, brother of the conqueror, reigned in his stead. The expedition failed, but this was through no fault of Cockburn, who had merely to land the agents at some convenient spot, and await their return with or without the King. As a matter of fact, the agents were arrested soon after landing, and Cockburn, apprised of this, sailed for England. Ferdinand was not released from confinement at Valençay until the Peace of 1813.

[1] The speech just quoted on Wellington and Talavera.
[2] Add. MSS. 37315 f. 102.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY *to* CAPTAIN GEORGE COCKBURN

Secret. No. 1 *Foreign Office*
February 2, 1810

His Majesty having determined to make an effort to rescue the person of King Ferdinand VII. of Spain from the hands of the French, and to restore that monarch to his subjects, I have received His Majesty's commands to direct you to proceed with the ships which have been placed under your orders by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to the immediate execution of this important service.

After having received on board the agents who are to be employed on this occasion, you will proceed to Quiberon Bay or to such other point upon the coast of France as you may judge most advisable for landing these persons.

You will concert with them the means of embarking them either in the event of the success or of the failure of the plan.

In the event of the safe arrival of the King of Spain on board your ship, you will act according to the directions contained in my despatch No. 2 of this date ; and if the plan should unfortunately fail, you will return to England with the ships placed under your orders.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 214.

The Marquess Wellesley *to* Captain George Cockburn[1]

Secret. No. 2 — *Foreign Office*
February 2, 1810

(1) In the event of the safe arrival of the King of Spain on board your ship you will of course receive His Majesty with royal honours and with every mark of distinction and respect.

(2) You will inform His Majesty that in the actual state of affairs in Spain it would appear most advisable that he should proceed to Portsmouth in order to concert with the British Government. The most advantageous steps which can now be taken for His Majesty's arrival in England, the time and manner of his return to his own dominions, may be settled with a more correct knowledge of the state of Spain than can be obtained under the doubtful and precarious circumstances of the present moment.

(3) It cannot be supposed that His Majesty will object to visiting England in such a crisis. If, however, he should manifest any reluctance to your proposal (after having employed every endeavour compatible with the duties of respect and with the indulgence which you will naturally be inclined to pay to His Majesty's feelings and prejudices), you will proceed to Cadiz, where you will communicate with the British Minister. You will then land the King of Spain in such manner as may be concerted between you and the British Minister.

[1] Upon the direction was written: "Not to be opened by any person but Captain Cockburn, nor communicated by him to any other officer."

(4) You will, however, understand that it is very desirable to induce His Majesty to adopt the course explained in the second paragraph of this letter, and that you will render an important service by prevailing on His Majesty to visit England in the first instance.[1]

CAPTAIN GEORGE COCKBURN *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Secret *H.M.S. Implacable, Quiberon Bay*
March 15, 1810

(1) Supposing that your Lordship must be extremely anxious to hear from me, I have determined to send the *Nonpareil* schooner to England with this despatch, to inform your Lordship that I arrived here during a very heavy gale from the S.W. on the night of the 7th March, and having the next day reconnoitred the adjacent shores and taken all necessary precautions, I safely landed the Baron de Kolli and his friend about eleven o'clock on the night of the 9th, *without the least disturbance or molestation*, nearly on the spot which I pointed out to your Lordship, in London, as that on which I judged it most advisable to make our first attempt. They were in high spirits at the facility with which they thus gained their first point, and seemed very confident of further success.

(2) I arranged with the Baron de Kolli, previous to his landing, a cypher which can only be understood by himself and me, and I have reason to believe we shall find little or no difficulty

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 217.

in holding such communication as may be found to be necessary for the furtherance of our future operations, as I happened to find here (on the island of Houât) a Baron de Feriet, who is a General of the Vendéan Insurgents. He was in England a little while ago imploring the assistance of our Government for his party, and has since been employed here smuggling British manufactures and colonial produce into France. This traffic has afforded him a facility of intercourse with the adjacent coasts which I judged might be turned to the advantage of our present undertaking.

(3) The Baron de Kolli, therefore, and myself, having held a long conversation with this Baron de Feriet, and having examined several documents which he produced to us (amongst others a letter from Mr. Barron of the Admiralty, whose handwriting I knew), and being fully convinced of his loyalty, and his enmity to the present Government of France, we determined to employ him, for our present purpose at least, in so much as making him the instrument of our communication. Of course we let him no further into our secret than assuring him that the service we were employed on was greatly for the advantage of the Royalist and Vendéan cause, and that his insuring to us a mode of communicating when necessary would very much contribute to the ultimate success of our enterprise. I promised to reward him handsomely for whatever assistance he might afford us, and, according to the zeal he now showed, to recommend his (the Vendéan) cause to the notice and

consideration of my Government. He immediately engaged to do everything I wished him, and without even knowing who the Baron de Kolli was, or whither he was going, he promised to give him every possible assistance ; but he requested to be landed on the coast of the Vendée in preference to being put on shore here, on account of his being proscribed for his late conduct, and most of the *gens d'armes* in this neighbourhood having his description ; but in any part of La Vendée he said he should be in almost perfect safety owing to his numerous partisans, and that for the same reason he could without danger proceed from wherever he might be landed on *that* coast to *Nantes*, where at a private house (the situation of which he fully explained to the Baron de Kolli) he promised to wait such orders as might be sent to him, and to hold a *chasse-marée* in constant readiness to be despatched to me, or to bring *him* to me should *he* be directed to be *himself* the bearer of any letter or despatch.

(4) These arrangements being determined on, I immediately despatched the schooner to land the Baron de Feriet on the coast of La Vendée, between St. Gilles and Sable d'Olonne, which she effected without creating the least alarm on the night of the 13th, being prevented from doing it sooner owing to the surf, which beats on all that coast whenever the wind is to the westward. M. de Feriet must, however, be at Nantes by this time, and as the wind is now to the eastward I shall be in constant expectation of receiving some intimation of the continental proceedings of my friends. In

the meantime, as I conceive it must be gratifying to your Lordship to know that, so far as depended upon us, everything has been accomplished to our most sanguine expectations, I have directed the lieutenant of the *Nonpareil* to proceed with this despatch for your Lordship to the first port in England which he can fetch, there to put it in the post-office and to return to me immediately without having any other communication with the shore, or allowing other letters to be sent from his vessel. I have also particularly impressed on his mind the necessity of his preventing any hint being given of where he has been or to what station he is to return.

(5) Should I receive any information from the Continent which I may think necessary to communicate to your Lordship, I will again despatch one of the small vessels under my orders therewith to England in a similar manner to this.

(6) Should your Lordship wish to send me any further instructions, the Admiralty will, of course, furnish a small vessel for that purpose, and I shall be always to be found in the neighbourhood of this anchorage.[1]

THE HON. JOHN CHARLES VILLIERS *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *Lisbon: February* 10, 1810

Lord Wellington's letters will have informed you of the disposition which he has thought himself obliged to make of the reinforcements which lately arrived in the defence of Cadiz. It

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 253.

will not escape your observation—though, obvious as it is, it would that of many Ministers—that this measure leaves his army and the defence of Portugal exactly where it would have been if such reinforcements had never been sent.

I trust that immediate measures will be taken for filling up this chasm ; more time may perhaps be safely given for supplying the sources from whence it may be filled up. But I conceive that in recruiting and increasing the strength of Lord Wellington's army no delay is safe.

With a British army of 40,000 effective men, and as much made of the Portuguese army and Militia as they admit of, a force might be assembled with which in this country a very reasonable hope of defeating all the views of the enemy in the Peninsula might be entertained.

But it is vain to look at objects and not to afford the adequate means of attaining them.

A few more British officers in the Portuguese service, more arms and more money, and especially greater despatch in sending out the clothing, would perhaps make the difference between all which has been afforded and spent being thrown away, or most completely answering the ends proposed by such great exertions. I say this for the sake of calling your attention to the subject, and in the hopes of exciting such vigour as produced the beneficial and glorious results of your own administration in India. I have nothing worth adding in this private letter.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 220.

The Earl of Aberdeen[1] *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Argyll House: February 19 [1810]

In consequence of the few words on the subject of America with which I troubled your Lordship on Tuesday evening, I have ventured to delay until this time my answer to your Lordship's proposition respecting Constantinople; and even now I must request of your goodness the permission to state with frankness and candour the general view which I entertain of this subject.

It appears to be probable that in a short time the Turkish empire will experience a considerable change. The Russian army may either succeed in obtaining possession of the capital, or, by the intervention of Buonaparte, the Government may be permitted to exist, if it shall renounce all communication with this country, and adhere to the continental system. In both cases the ordinary functions of a Minister at the Porte would be suspended, and the relations between the two countries entirely changed. Being persuaded of the probability of the occurrence of these or some other events which may produce a similar effect (perhaps even before the arrival of a British Minister), I think, with the country in such a disturbed and uncertain state, to go to Constantinople with no other object in view or system of proceeding contingent on such a situation would

[1] George Hamilton Gordon, fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860), Foreign Secretary, 1828-1830; Secretary for War, 1834-1835; again Foreign Secretary, 1841-1846; Prime Minister, 1852-1855.

A. Wivell, pinxt. *T. Woolnoth, sculpt.*

GEORGE HAMILTON-GORDON, 4TH EARL OF ABERDEEN

scarcely be compatible with the duty I owe to my family or to myself.

I know not what may be your Lordship's opinion respecting the probability of these events, or of the course necessary to be pursued should any such take place. I will venture, however, in the same spirit of candour, to state distinctly the line of conduct which I should not only be ready but anxious to follow, and which appears to me to be marked out by such a situation of affairs.

The dependence of European Greece, and especially of the islands, on the Turkish Government, is very slender. They have been for some time rapidly increasing in population, opulence, and maritime strength, and are quite ready to assert an independence under the auspices either of the Russians, or of the French. The Russians, however, from their numerous treacheries and atrocious barbarity, they very much dislike, and French connection, from the absence of naval intercourse and protection, is much less desired than the friendship of this country. Any system, therefore, which may provide for the occurrence, and, as far as may be prudent, assist in the establishment of such an order of things, appears to merit your Lordship's attention, and from its important and interesting nature would deserve the employment of abilities and activity far greater than mine. To promote a plan of this or any other similar description I would willingly use my best exertions; but without any such object in view I think it improbable that a residence at Constantinople would, at the present moment, be desirable.

I am now sensible that it is necessary to request your Lordship's pardon for the free manner in which I have written. In a common period of tranquillity and peace I should at once have accepted your Lordship's proposal with delight, and have felt that I had obtained the chief object of my pursuit; but in the present state of the Continent I found myself impelled in addressing your Lordship to detail with sincerity those views by which in my opinion the mission would be rendered creditable to him who filled it, and most advantageous to the country.

In all events, I beg your Lordship to be assured of the high sense I entertain of the value of your good opinion, and of that kindness which has led you to make the proposition, in answer to which I have already troubled you too long.[1]

The Hon. John Charles Villiers *to* The Marquess Wellesley

Private *March* 4, 1810

Let me in the first place give you joy of the honours of yesterday; and believe me how glad I am that you have received in so satisfactory a manner an honour long merited, and which you particularly desired.[2]

I long much to see you again. If you have not repented of the *liberties of speech* which, as an old friend, you have sometimes allowed me, you must permit me from friendship to express a wish to be permitted to use them once more. However

[1] Add. MSS. 37309 f. 343.
[2] The Order of the Garter.

painful your own situation or that of the country may be, you must, *for your own character*, get your shoulders thoroughly to the work now you are in office.

There are many points of detail with respect to Portugal which I can save you trouble in despatching, but the great question is whether Buonaparte *will* turn *his whole force* against it so as to make its defence impracticable. This clearly is not the case at the present moment (120,000 men ought not to conquer the Peninsula with an army of 30,000 British within it) ; and of particular operations, or approach of danger, Lord Wellington's opinions on the spot ought, in my judgment, *alone* and *entirely* to decide. But how soon it may be the case and how soon evacuation may be necessary it is impossible to say. Let me then beg you to turn your thoughts (I say no more) to an *immediate* negotiation for peace, and think of the difference of negotiating when Portugal may be insisted on, and Spain contested, or after both have been lost by an evacuation which, however necessary, must always be humiliating, perhaps disastrous.

On another point: Lord Bathurst told me yesterday how important and how popular some commercial arrangement with Portugal would be. From what Souza said to me I am satisfied that it should be practicable and might shortly be finished.

I have no personal wish to be engaged in it, but, if you choose, I think that I could bring the thing to a point in a few days.

I am going on a painful journey to-day, to see my poor sister, who is dangerously ill. I come back to-morrow at two o'clock, and have no engagement except with Lord Liverpool at eleven the next day at the House of Commons.

I will, therefore, wait upon you whenever you please. But pray, for your own sake, and for that of the country, think *well* of what I say, and of what is expected of you.[1]

THE HON. HENRY WELLESLEY *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *Cadiz: March* 12, 1810

I have not much to say in addition to my official letters. I fear that very little is to be expected from the Government, and since their letter to Cuesta[2] their best friends have begun to be of the same opinion. I am afraid, however, that the Regency did not see the letter to Cuesta until it appeared in the *Gazette*, and that General Castaños[3] entirely disapproves the expressions it contains in praise of Cuesta. You know that Cuesta is the bitter enemy of Castaños, and of the Duke of Albuquerque,[4] and when the letter was shown to the Duke of Albuquerque he said that

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 239.

[2] Gregoreo Garcia de la Cuesta (1740-1812), Spanish General.

[3] Francisco Saverio Castaños (1756-1852), a Spanish General, best remembered for his victory over the French under Dupont at Baylen in 1808. He was subsequently created Duke of Baylen.

[4] José Marca de la Cueva, fourteenth Duke d'Albuquerque, who early in 1810 saved Cadiz from the French army under Soult.

were it not for his apprehension of offending the English nation he would use his best endeavours to remove the Government. I believe Castaños and the other Members of the Regency to have the best intentions, but even Whittingham[1] is now of opinion that Spain cannot be saved. You may be assured, however, that I shall use every exertion to ascertain and, if possible, to improve the friendly communications now subsisting between the Regency and the British Minister, and that I will not relinquish this object as long as there is a shadow of a Government or a remnant of spirit remaining in the country.

You will find the Freres[2] (if they both return to England, which is at present doubtful) very sanguine in their language about this country. The eldest Frere told me that since the commencement of the contest the affairs of Spain never in his opinion wore so favourable an aspect as they do at this moment, and I believe his brother is of the same way of thinking.

I own I cannot see any justifiable grounds for this opinion. If, indeed, they were inclined to make any exertions for the improvement of their

[1] Samuel Ford Whittingham (1772-1841), an English officer who served as Brigadier-General in the Spanish service from 1809 until after the Hundred Days. He was knighted in 1815, and became Lieutenant-General in the British army.

[2] John Hookham Frere (1769-1846), Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1799; Ambassador at Lisbon, 1800, and at Madrid, 1802-1804; Minister with the Junta, 1808-1809. He was a contributor to *The Anti-Jacobin*, 1797-1798, a translator of Aristophanes, etc.

Bartholomew Frere (1778-1851), Minister at Lisbon, 1809-1810, and subsequently Minister at Constantinople.

They were sons of John Frere, the antiquary (1740-1807).

army, they never had so favourable an opportunity, and General Stuart[1] is ready to give them all the assistance in his power.

An army of 30,000 men, regularly trained and disciplined, and punctually paid, might still do a great deal in the south of Spain, and could be a good example to the other parts of Spain which continue to hold out, but I have no hope that any improvement will take place ; but as the defence of this place must depend principally upon the English, I wish it were possible to send a few more regiments here. I hope, however, that General Stuart will not be superseded, as he is very popular with the Spaniards, and upon good terms with the Duke of Albuquerque, which is an essential point.

I know not what the effect of a bombardment will be here. If the French get possession of the peninsula opposite Puntales the ships must move from their present anchorage, as they will be completely within range of the enemy's shells ; but unless they can force the Isle de Leon and the new battery of the Cortadura, which is now nearly completed, they will never be able to get near enough to Cadiz to injure it with their shells. I have sometimes thought that in the work of the conquest of the rest of Spain, Cadiz might be induced to declare itself a free port under the protection of the English, and that its connection with South America might (if Spain were to be

[1] Sir John Stuart (1759-1815), who greatly distinguished himself in the Peninsula war. In 1809 he took Ischia and Procida and captured Murat's gunboats, afterwards falling back on Messina, where in the following year he repulsed the enemy with great loss.

conquered) facilitate any arrangements we might wish to make in that quarter. I merely throw this out as a hint for your consideration.

If Cadiz should be hard pressed I believe it to be the intention of the Regency to remove to Majorca or Minorca, but to keep up their connection as long as may be possible with Catalonia and other parts of Spain.

I hope you will not disapprove what I have done about the French prisoners. Their remaining here is really most dangerous, but I think it very probable that before any arrangement is made by the Government for sending them away I shall receive your instructions, if you think any necessary upon the subject.[1]

THE HON. JOHN CHARLES VILLIERS *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *North Audley Street*
March 19, 1810

If there is anything in the style of your letter of which I think I might complain, I am so impressed with the motives which dictated mine to you, and that, likewise, which I entirely submitted to your approbation (of which approbation I own I had not even a doubt), that I will confine myself strictly to explanation.

I have no topic to treat which has not been treated in my despatches, but, considering the pressure of current business, the change of departments, and other circumstances, I sincerely thought that I could render a most valuable

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 249.

service to Ministers themselves, as well as to the public, by bringing the several topics under discussion, and by proposing myself to be questioned upon them. I had no other view; and the following are the principal heads to which I alluded:

(1) The circumstances which must attend the evacuation of Portugal, if it must take place, which circumstances relate to your own department, to the War department, to the Admiralty, and to the Treasury.

(2) Some discussion of the engagements relative to the Portuguese army, which I will now shortly state.

The money voted will not, according to the estimate sent home by me (in August first and afterwards to you), quite pay for 30,000 *troops*; much less will it pay for an *army complete* of 30,000 men according to the form and principle of the return required by Lord Bathurst for an army of 20,000, of which you have likewise the estimate in the office. I submitted to Government Marshal Beresford's two statements of 30,000 *troops*, one exclusive of officers, the other including the officers in the numbers, asking the decision of Government upon which was to be adopted, without which decision neither the paymaster nor the Portuguese Government can go on. The pay of the British officers sent to serve in the Portuguese army is likewise an additional charge which has long since been submitted to Government on different questions, and which, from being trifling at first in its amount, is now become considerable.

(3) The third point was the circumstances of our army, and its probable danger.

As I have said before, almost all I have to say may be found with trouble in the despatches ; but I thought that in discussion, and in tendering myself to be questioned by the different departments to which the subjects relate, I could save much of that trouble.

Let me just give, in passing, one hint of no small delicacy. It is respecting the safety of our *transports* in the Tagus, previous to evacuation. Arrangements made as if the transports were in danger (*if evidently made for their security*) would probably excite mischief, and add to the danger to be apprehended ; and yet every danger is to be apprehended, both against the British and against their own Government, from a violent people in despair at being surrendered (as they would call it) to the French. I only, however, mean to bring this, and the other topics alluded to, under consideration, and wish neither to trouble you nor the Government with opinions of my own.

On the last subject to which you allude I certainly had no idea of obtruding my sentiments upon the Cabinet. But if a sense of public duty, in a moment of the most critical emergency and imminent danger, made me wish to discharge my mind, and if I had only proposed to Government *either* to hear my ideas or to allow me to state them in Parliament, would there have been anything not clearly within my own right to do, and most respectful and attentive to yourself and to the Government ? These very feelings I submitted

in the first instance to *your decision*, and now acquiesce in it, in not sending my letter to Perceval.

Permit me upon the topic itself, for the chance of its being useful, in this shape to submit my ideas to *you*. Depend upon it, our failure or complete success on the Peninsula has often turned upon a single circumstance which need not have occurred. Some of these circumstances are such as opposition may well dwell upon. I will not name them, and look only to the natural state of things, in which the timely evacuation of Portugal and the provision of our army with inadequate means of defence are both equally pregnant with the most distressing consequences. This view of the subject led me to consider the only path of safety, whilst we *yet* might insist upon Portugal in negotiation, and might bargain for Spain. Upon this subject I have only one new idea to offer, and I merely tender it for your consideration.

I should say that we do not fight in Spain to re-establish either the Prince of Peace or Ferdinand VII., but that if we stipulated for the Spanish people a free Government, and an empire declared independent and recognised as such by a distinct Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain (though under a Buonaparte), that we saved our credit and made a better treaty than we are likely to do when France has gained Portugal and Spain.

I only, however, submit this idea to you, impressed as I am with apprehension of the dreadful intelligence which in no very long time

may be expected from the Peninsula on any other view of the subject.[1]

THE HON. HENRY WELLESLEY *to* THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Private *Cadiz: March* 21, 1810

I enclose a copy of a letter I received this morning from Admiral Purvis, with my answer to it. The Admiral knew that the packet was to sail to-day, and his object appears to be to do himself credit with the Admiralty for having urged me to adopt the measures which he recommends; but the fact is, I have not only represented in the strongest manner the necessity of these measures in every interview I have had with M. de Castaños, but offered to take the Admiral to the Council of Regency in order that he might himself represent the dangerous situation of the harbour; and it is literally a fact that until I represented to the Admiral the danger which the shipping might sustain if the French were allowed to retain the ports which they now occupy, he had never thought of suggesting the necessity of the removal of the ships or of any other arrangement for the safety of the harbour. I mention this in confidence to you, not wishing you to make use of it to the prejudice of the Admiral, but the fact is (as I believe you well know) that he is totally unfit for this active command, and the sooner he is removed from it the better for the defence of this place. General Stuart is of this opinion as well as myself. Had an

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 263.

active admiral been here when the French first came down upon Cadiz they never could have got possession of the ports which they now occupy, and of which, if they are not dispossessed or if we cannot strengthen the castle of Matagorda (which General Stuart is endeavouring to do) so as to keep them in check, they will certainly destroy a great deal of the shipping or else compel it to leave the harbour. The ships of war, however, can easily move out of the reach of shells, and I hope we shall get rid of the prisoners before the enemy can strengthen himself. But to return to the Admiral, he is really not equal to the command here, and I believe would be very glad to give it up; and if his recall were accompanied by a civil letter approving of his exertions in getting the Spanish ships out of the harbour I have no doubt he would be perfectly satisfied. We want such a man as Sir Edward Pellew here, who would never leave the enemy at rest for a moment; but from my own observation, as well as from what I have learnt from General Stuart (who has more than once entreated me to write to you upon the subject), I am persuaded that no co-operation with the land forces is to be looked for from the Admiral.

I showed his letter to General Stuart, who pronounced it to be a dirty trick to gain credit with the Admiralty, for that literally there was no one circumstance stated in that letter which I had not repeatedly urged in his presence to the Admiral as a motive for removing the fleet and prisoners.

From what you told me previously to my leaving England respecting the state of the army at home, I fear that to ask for reinforcements would be totally useless ; but 5,000 men in addition to what we have got would not only secure this place, but enable General Stuart to attack the enemy with advantage, and without danger of failure. There are now not more than 10,000 Spaniards and about 5,000 English and Portuguese in the Isla and in Cadiz, making on the whole a force of about 15,000 men ; and to defend the island and the town as they ought to be defended requires a force of about 25,000. General Stuart is very anxious that the chief engineer, Captain Laudmann, who has a perfect knowledge of all the works of the town and of the island, should not be superseded.

I very much fear that the Duke of Albuquerque has lost all his popularity in Cadiz by the absurdity of his conduct in publishing his letter to the Regency. He is now at the Isla, where he has established his head-quarters.

I cannot say that my opinion of the Government is changed. They have disappointed all their warmest friends, and nothing good is, I fear, to be expected from their manner. It is the opinion of everybody that they ought to establish themselves at Cadiz, and they cannot, I think, avoid doing so, as the Duke of Albuquerque has removed his head-quarters to the Isla.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 266.

[ENCLOSURE]

VICE-ADMIRAL JOHN CHARLES PURVIS *to* THE HON. HENRY WELLESLEY

Atlas, Cadiz Harbour : March 20, 1810

I beg leave to call your Excellency's attention to that part of the enemy's movements which relates to the ships in this harbour, many of which are now within reach of the works of Santa Catalina, and there can be no doubt of his intention to force them to sea, or to oblige them to anchor so close to each other as to expose them to a calamity similar to that which they have lately experienced, or, what is still more to be dreaded, a visitation of fire-vessels, the effect of which may be easily conceived, not only on the ships, but on the city itself. The enemy has hitherto been kept in check in his designs on the Isthmus of Trocadero, but he will persevere in the hopes of succeeding at last by destroying Fort Matagorda, and getting possession of the point opposite to Puntales. This would give him many advantages, and, amongst others, assist his views of driving the ships from their present situation. It is needless for me to point out to your Excellency how very necessary it is that the Spanish ships should be removed to some place of security as soon as possible. I have no hesitation in asserting that they are not now in that state of security which by the existing treaty between the two countries they ought to be. I have the highest opinion of the strength of Cadiz, and there can be no doubt but the patriotic zeal of the inhabitants, with the assistance of the

military, will enable them to put the enemy to defiance; but if the case should unfortunately be otherwise (which God forbid) it would then be necessary to withdraw such of the Spanish ships as might remain in the harbour, and unless preparations are made for that purpose I will venture to say they will be reported not in a fit state to be removed.

The enemy has many strong inducements to persist in his endeavours to gain possession of this desirable port and city, and amongst them the getting hold of the ships and liberating the prisoners. If, therefore, these ships and prisoners were sent away, there would be less cause for his perseverance, and the place relieved from a very great expense of provisions. And whilst I am on the subject of the prisoners, I take the liberty of requesting that means may be adopted for sending away the French seamen as soon as it can be done.[1]

[1] Add. MSS. 37291 f. 270.

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